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OR

ILLUSIONS AND FANATICISMS

OF

PROTEAN FORMS PRODUCTIVE OF GREAT EVILS.

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a.c.

BY

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"Imaginatio est tanquam Proteus et Chamæleon, corpus proprium et alienum nonnunquam afficiens."—MARSIL. FICINUS, De Theol. Plat. lib. xiii. c. 18.

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EPIDEMIC MENTAL DISORDERS.

CHAPTER I.

VISIONS AND INSPIRATIONS BORDERING ON THE DOMAIN OF THEOMANIA.—THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JEANNE D'ARC.

1412—1431.

INTRODUCTION.

TILL a very recent period, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject of Jeanne d'Arc (the number of Books, Treatises, and Articles on it amount to 1200), a just opinion could not be formed of the true character of the Maid of Orleans, an of the circumstances by which she was surrounded. The great labours of M. Quicherat were undertaken for the Société de l'Histoire de France, namely, the collection and collation of all the original documents in France appertaining to the proceedings on the trial and condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, and those also connected with the proceedings of the Royal Commission, charged with the collection of new evidence for the re-establishment of her fame,

and vindication of her character. The first volume of this great work was published in 1841 ; the fifth and last in 1849.*

The editor, Mons. Quicherat, published another valuable work on the same subject in 1850, which may be considered as an appendix to the former.† The author, in his preface, explains the objects he has had in view in the composition of this work. :

" Ce livre n'est ni une histoire, ni un panégyrique. Ouvrage de pure critique, il était destiné à accompagner la publication des procès de Jeanne d'Arc que j'ai récemment achevée pour la Société de l'Histoire de France. Son étendue l'ayant empêché d'être mis à la place pour laquelle il avait été fait, je me décide à le publier séparément. C'est à exposer ces aperçus que j'ai mis toute mon étude, sans viser aucunement à l'intérêt d'un récit continu ni m'attacher au côté dramatique des situations."

Another work, also of much value on the same subject, and which contains some original matter of importance not previously published, appeared in

* Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle, publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, suivis de tous les documents historiques qu'on a pu réunir, et accompagnés de notes et d'éclaircissements ; 5 vol. in 8vo., 1841-1849. Paris, chez Jules Renouard.

† Aperçus Nouveaux sur l'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, par J. Quicherat, professeur à l'école nationale des Chartres. 1 vol. grand in 8vo., 1850.

1847. "Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc. D'apres les Chroniques Contemporaines," par l'Abbé Barthelemy de Beauregard, in 2 vols. 8vo.

A biographical notice of the heroine, of great value, exists in an old Latin work, chiefly compiled by Jacobus de Bergamo, in the latter part of the 15th and published the beginning of the 16th century, edited by Ravisius Textor.* This notice is headed, "De Joanna Gallica Pulcella, Optima Juvencula." The principal achievements of the Pucelle, the author states, were communicated to him by an eye-witness, named "Gulielmus Guaschus—Optimus et locuples testis vir Clarissimus: tunc Regius Aulicus, prout audierat et viderat."

The most important work relating to the history of Jeanne d'Arc, given to the public up to the middle of the seventeenth century, is that of the Abbé Langlet Du Fresnoy, "Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc," reimprimè in 12mo. Amst. 1777. The Abbé was the first person who dealt critically with original documents in relation to the trial, and the Proceedings, in vindication of the heroine. This work was composed from original authentic documents relating to the two Processes. The Abbé, it will be seen in the preface to his work, was a convert to the opinion entertained by previous writers, of the exalted character of the Pucelle.

* De Memorabilibus Mulieribus. In fol. Par., 1521. Cap. 97. p. 138.

"In writing the history," he says, "of Jeanne d'Arc, I enter on the investigation of a subject in regard to which I was formerly as much, and perhaps even more, unfavourably prepossessed than any one else: but by dint of reading and examination, I do not say of printed works, (for they do not afford sufficient information), but the original documents of the different judicial proceedings and depositions which they contain, my prejudice was first shaken, and finally altogether dissipated," &c.*

A memoir of Jeanne d'Arc, by the celebrated French historian, Michelet, appeared in the "Histoire de France," by that author; and for its brilliant style, conciseness of narrative, and precision in details of high historic interest, is not surpassed by any modern biography.

A German work, entitled "Neue Propheten," by an able critic, an accurate and profound inquirer, a professor in the University of Berlin, Doctor Karl Hase of Jena, is chiefly devoted to a critical inquiry into the history of Jean d'Arc, "Die Jungfrau von Orleans."

From the above mentioned works, the data of most importance are derived which have been made use of in this Memoir of Jeanne d'Arc: which will be found a more extensive, as well as reliable notice of the phenomena of her visions and inspirations than has heretofore been given in this country. It is hardly requisite to observe that an undertaking of this kind necessitated a vast deal of reference to works bearing

* Hist. de Jeanne d'Arc, preface.

incidentally on the subjects treated in the above mentioned biographies; or to beg it may be borne in mind that a biography of this description is not a smooth and limpid current of incidents continuously flowing in one unbroken stream, but a battle for truth and innocence in the midst of the turbid waters of literary, political, and religious strife, with all the elements about the subject matter of inquiry, in a state of disturbance and contention.

JEANNE D'ARC.

EARLY ORIGIN.

THE iniquitous and impolitic English wars with France, the claims of English sovereigns to the crown of that nation, their invasions of her territories, the ravages of her soil, which were prosecuted from the year 1124 to the year 1450, may be regarded in a great measure, as consequences of the Conquest of England, by William, Duke of Normandy, in 1066.

Never, perhaps, in the annals of any European country, was so much suffering entailed on any people by the national epidemic mania of marauding in foreign countries, and making conquests of foreign lands, as was endured by the French in the interval including the reigns of Henry I. and Henry VI. of England.

From the beginning of the twelfth century, with

intervals of exhaustion that admitted of short truces, and precarious terms of accommodation, France was ravaged by the English, and the factions of the feudal chiefs and nobles of that country, who became the allies of the invaders, or by independent petty Lord and Princes in all the territories, on the borders of the contested Provinces. Of all the French allies of the English invaders, the Duke of Burgundy, in the early part of the fifteenth century, was the most powerful adherent, and the most formidable and mischievous traitor to his own country.

The cause of this enmity so fatal to France is attributed to the assassination of the Duke's father, in the presence of the son of Charles VI., by one of his attendants.

Jean, Sans Peur, Duc de Burgogne was born in 1371. He distinguished himself in many battles, especially in 1396, at Nicopolis against Bajazet. In France having excited commotions, he was opposed by the Duke of Orleans, and the latter was assassinated by him in 1407. The day following, the assassin assisted as a mourner at the Duke's funeral. Shortly after he fled to Flanders, but returned again to France with 1000 armed followers. A Franciscan friar, Jean Petit, in a solemn discourse at a public audience, at which the Dauphin (the future king of France, Charles VII. presided,) justified the assassination of the Duke of Orleans, on the ground of his being an impious man, and a tyrant whom it was lawful to kill. The justifica-

tion, however, had no effect on the brothers and party of the murdered Duke. For seven years they made war on Burgundy with various successes. The latter faction was called Bourguignon, that of the Orleans's Armagnac.

In 1418 Jean Sans Peur and his faction having surprised Paris, made a terrible massacre of the Armagnacs, seized on the person of the King and all his authority. The following year Jean Sans Peur contrived to make peace with the Dauphin. An interview took place between them at Monteran, each attended by ten men. One of the attendants of the Dauphin was Tannegui de Chastel, a councillor of the young prince, by whom he was governed in all things, and at this interview Jean Sans Peur was assassinated by Tannegui, in the presence of the Dauphin, in September 1418. But whether the assassination was premeditated or not is a question on which the historians of France are not agreed.*

During the calamitous reign of Charles VI., when Lorraine was the principal theatre of war, Troyes was several times the residence of the King, his unnatural consort, Isabella of Bavaria, and the Duke of Burgundy. The Parliament was transferred there in 1418, and one of the most infamous treaties on record in French history was concluded there. The 21st of March, 1420, some months after the assassination of Jean Sans Peur, the new Duke of Burgundy arrived at Troyes with the English

* Dict. Hist. Nouveau, 1779, t. 3. p. 661.

Ambassadors. He came there to get the King to ratify a treaty which he had entered into with Henry V. King of England. The latter arrived at Troyes in the month of May following, and immediately after his arrival the "Treaty of Troyes" was signed, in virtue of which the imbecile King, under the entire control of Isabella of Bavaria, disinherited his son Charles, designating him as "le soi-disant Dauphin," and gave his daughter, Catharine, and France to the King of England, Henry V.

"Est accordé que tantôt après notre trépas, la couronne et royaume de France demeureront et seront perpétuellement à notre dit fils le roi Henri et à ses hèritiers . . . La faculté et l'exercice de gouverner et ordonner la chose publique du dit royaume seront et demeureront notre vie durant à notredit fils le roi Henri . . . Considéré les horribles et énormes crimes et délits perpétrés au dit royaume de France par Charles, soi-disant Dauphin de Viennois, il est accordé que nous, notredit fils le roi et aussi notre très-cher fils Philippe, duc de Bourgogne, ne traiterons aucunement de paix ni de concorde avec ledit Charles, ni traiterons ou ferons traiter sinon du consentement et du conseil de tous et chacun de nous trois, et des trois états des deux royaumes dessusdits."*

The marriage was celebrated the 2nd June, 1420. Henry V. died two years later. His son and successor, Henry VI. of England, then aged ten months,

* La France Illustrée. Par V. de Malte Brun. p. 4.

on the death of Charles VI. of France in October, 1422, was declared King of France, while the Dauphin caused himself to be proclaimed King under the title of Charles VII.

The Duke of Bedford, uncle of the young English sovereign, was appointed Regent of France. He married a sister of the Duc de Bourgogne, the implacable enemy of Charles VII.

Charles VII. was born in 1403, on the death of his eldest brother he became Dauphin in 1416. He was declared an enemy to France—was disinherited and proscribed by his father Charles VI. in 1418. At the death of his father he was declared King of France at Poictiers, in 1422. He was consecrated at Rheims in 1429. His unnatural mother, Isabella of Bavaria, died in 1435. He entered Paris for the first time as King of France in 1437. He died in 1461, in his fifty-ninth year, from the effects of abstinence from food obstinately persisted in, labouring under monomaniacal fear of poison, and was succeeded by his son, Louis XI., in 1461.

The small hamlet of Domremy, situated between Neufchateau and Vaucouleurs in Lorraine, near its junction with Champagne, is the birth-place of Jeanne d'Arc. The vast forests which surrounded it in the 15th century, to a great extent, have disappeared. Several strongholds of the Duke of Burgundy which existed in that age, in its vicinity, places of great strength and military importance have passed away,

and hardly left a trace behind. The memories of those proud, restless, rapacious, feudal nobles who were their possessors are now of little interest, and when recalled excite no feelings of concern for the vicissitudes of their fortunes, or the evanescence of their power.

But the humble tenement which had been the home of a peasant girl, of unsullied virtue, and of a great soul, upwards of four centuries and a half ago, and that still subsists in that obscure hamlet of Domremy, excites even now the deepest interest, and stirs up feelings of the strongest sympathy for the fate of that girl, the dawn of whose heroic spirit is associated with that poor dwelling.

The town, in ancient times, had been a fief of the Great Abbaye of Saint Remy of Rheims.

The Meuse flows along a plain in the immediate vicinity of Domremy. Several villages situated on the sides of adjacent heights give a picturesque effect to the surrounding scenery. In close proximity with the house of Jacques and Isabelle Romée d'Arc, the parents of the heroine, is the old church of Domremy with its Lombard tower, large, massive and dilapidated. The house is one story high, with irregular windows. The room into which the outer door leads is the ordinary kitchen of a small country house, with its customary large fire-place, extensive hearth, and chimney aperture of great height and width. In the middle is a graceful statue of the Maid of Orleans, after the original model of the

gifted Princess Marie D'Orleans, daughter of King Louis Philippe, which has so happily rendered the calm, sweet face, and imposing figure of the inspired heroic girl. Virginal purity has fitly contributed its high gifts and graces to the ornamentation of this shrine of the unsullied Maid, and the consecration of it at the hands of a small community of Sisters of Mercy, and its devotion to the uses of a school for the young girls of the village, is in keeping with that adornment.

At the side of the graceful figure, which owes its origin to the lamented artist of the house of Orleans, there is an old uncouth statue of Jeanne d'Arc, awkwardly representing her in a kneeling position, copied *en grand* from a small statuette of the 15th century, exceedingly grotesque, which was intended to adorn the outer entrance. An inner door near the latter opens into a small room more narrow and obscure than the first, extremely dark and dismal. This was the chamber of Jeanne d'Arc. There is evidence that it was so considered two centuries ago. The walls are sombre, rough, and uneven. A recess in the wall, with the aid of a few boards very rudely put together, served the purpose of a press or "buffet;" and there, we are told, all the worldly possessions, the slender store of apparel of Sunday and Feast-day best clothes of Jeanne d'Arc, were kept. Over the arch of the outside door, a triple shield, *fleur-de-lis*, with three inscriptions, is sculptured, bearing the arms granted to the family by

Charles VII., after the death of the heroine. The sculpture of the shields, with their inscriptions, was mutilated during the French revolution, and the two stones of which this monument is composed, of five or six feet long and five in breadth, were even then no longer in *situ*, but had been transferred to the house in front of the dwelling of Jeanne d'Arc, by one Gérardin, who had become its proprietor. The restored monument is now in its original position. Monsieur de Haldat, in his "Relation de la Fete Inaugurale," celebrated in 1820, at Domremy, in honour of Jeanne d'Arc, gives a description of the monument as it existed before the revolution. In one shield the arms of France were sculptured, in another those of the family d'Arc or Duluys, their later appellation, a vertical sword with the point surmounted by a crown, with a fleur-de-lis at either side; on another shield a star in the centre, and on either side, figures of the shape of arrow-heads, supposed to represent plough-shares. Between two of the shields, on a band, is the inscription, *Vive le Roi Lois:* over another shield, the words *l'an quatre cents quarante-une* (or, as some read, soixante-une), and above this inscription, the very appropriate one *Vive labeur:* all the letters in the character of the 15th century.

The Government of the *Restauration*, to its honour be it mentioned, voted a large sum of money in aid of a subscription which had been raised for the purpose of purchasing a number of houses which

surrounded that of Jeanne d'Arc, and thus enabling the Department to erect a fountain, with a bust of the heroine, and a suitable inscription in honour of her memory, "L'expression de la reconnaissance publique," and to establish a school for the gratuitous instruction of young girls of Domremy and the neighbouring communes.*

In the time of Montaigne, by whom the house of Jeanne d'Arc was visited in 1580, the outside was painted. The principal events in the history of the heroine had been represented on it, but the painting was then much injured, and now no remains of it exist. For many years previous to 1820, the house had been used as a stable. But, in the time of Louis XVIII., it was purchased by the Department of Vosges for 2500 francs from the proprietor; who, though of small fortune, had refused the sum of 6000 francs for it from a Prussian Count. Louis XVIII. rewarded the disinterested act of the proprietor with the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

If the lesson of this act of governmental enlightened liberality, and of public gratitude and generosity, had been profited by in another and adjacent land, the house might have been spared in which the last breath was yielded of a man—"not of an age but for all time," of one whose genius is the greatest honour to his country,—that house might not very recently have been allowed to be levelled to the

* L'Abbé Barthelemy de Beauregard. Hist. de Jeanne d'Arc. Par., 1847. Tome i. p. 15.

ground, and the hallowed stones of it might not have been suffered to be carted away as so much rubbish, that only encumbered the soil which had been its site.

The pilgrim who visits the shrine of Domremy goes there with feelings of love and veneration, full of faith, and the influences which come out of the old walls are rife with enthusiasm. From the narrow window of the room of Jeanne d'Arc the village church is seen; and so near, that the wall of that side of the house forms a portion of the enclosure of the cemetery. All the circumstances of the locality, the connection of the village with the Abbaye of Rheims; the contiguity of it with vast forests; of the house with the parish church; of the chamber which tradition assigns to the young maiden of a pensive meditative thought of mind, with the adjoining cemetery, are to be borne in mind, when our inquiries are directed to the character and the influences on it of this most singular and truly noble being.

The history of the life, exploits, sufferings, and death of "The Maid of Orleans," is comprised in a period of less than twenty years.

Of the persons who have figured in history, influenced the fortunes of a nation, and left lasting traces of their great thoughts, or heroic actions impressed on ages far distant from their own time, none have been the subject of so much literary inquiry, so much controversy that has left the sub-

ject of it still obscure, as Jeanne d'Arc. According to the views of some writers her inspirations were derived from God; of others, from the devil; and in the opinion of several later authors, they were attributable to Theomania.

Jacques d'Arc, the father of the heroine, originally was of the village of Sefonds in Champagne. His wife was named Isabelle Romèe, and is supposed by some writers to have been a native of Vouthun, a name common to two villages to the north-east of Domremy. The name Romèe, was frequently given in the middle ages to persons who had made a pilgrimage to Rome: and the wife of Jacques d'Arc perhaps belonged to a family, one of whose members may have thus acquired the name of Romèe, and transmitted it to his children. A German writer imagines he has grounds for attributing an Italian origin to the family of d'Arc.

Jacques d'Arc, and his wife, Isabelle Romèe, were simple agricultural labourers, owning a few fields which they cultivated with their own hands, and having a few sheep, "et quelques pieces de betail," which constituted all their worldly possessions. They were simple, pious, virtuous poor people, of known probity, and were always ready to assist their poorer neighbours. Their good qualities caused them to be looked on in Domremy as a family, "bonne et bien Catholique en dieu."*

They had five children, two daughters and three

* Barth. de Beauregard. T. i. p. 7.

sons. The eldest of the daughters, to use her own language, "au pays ou elle etoit nèe elle s'appelloit Jehannette et en France Jehanne." Her sister was named Catherine; the eldest of her brothers was called Jaquemen, the second Jehan, and the youngest Pierre or Pierrelo.

Jehanne, the Jeanne d'Arc of history, was born in the month of February in 1412.* She was baptized in the parish church of the hamlet of Domremy, where no remains of any former remembrance of her now exist, but two small figures representing angels in a kneeling posture, each bearing an armorial shield with the arms of Duluys, which subsequently became those of her family.

Tradition has not been idle in regard to marvellous prognostics and portents attending the birth of this child, and the early years of her childhood. History even has adopted many legends of this kind which have been related by old chroniclers, like the cotemporary of Jeanne, Perceval Sieur de Boulourmak, in his letter concerning the heroine to the Duke of Milan, written the 13th June, 1429, when Jeanne was at the height of her glory: and another cotemporary, "Le Bourgeois de Paris," in his journal.

* "In nocte epiphaniarum Domini. . . hanc intrat mortalium lucem." *Lettre au duc de Milan*, Procès, t. v. p. 116. "Interrogata cujus ætatis ipsa erat, respondit quod, prout sibi videtur, est quasi xix annorum." *Procès*, interrogatoire du 21 Février, 1431, t. i. p. 46.

Boulourmak states that at her birth an extraordinary and unaccountable exultation was manifested throughout the village. The people ran from house to house rejoicing, they knew not why, and—"se demandaient ce qu'il y avait de nouveaux."

The cocks crew with unusual vehemence on this occasion, and there was something too in the time that was remarkable, it was the night of the Epiphany of our Lord. And then La Bourgeois de Paris tells us, when she was a little girl, the birds of the woods and the fields came when she called them to eat the bread out of her lap: "les oiseaux de boys et des champs, quand elle les appeloit, venoient mangier son pain dans son giron." The credulity of the old Chroniclers need not shock us over much. It is not incumbent on us to believe any of those marvels, but our philosophy will not take any more hurt than our faith at feeling a passing interest in any proof we meet with, that the simplest people are not wanting in poetry, when they are eager to exalt the pre-eminent excellence of one of their own class or community.

Jeanne d'Arc was born in times when the schoolmaster was not abroad. She was not taught to read or write, "et elle ne savait jamais ni lire ni ecrire." But her mother was at home to teach her the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Angelical Salutation, and no other person but her mother taught her the truths of her religion, and she gave her all the instruction that a good child ought to

have, and learned her how to spin, and how to sew: and as at the end of her career she told her iniquitous judges, "she did not think there was in Rouen a woman who had any thing else to teach her." It was only in her childhood that she was put to the field to take care of her father's flocks, if she was ever thus employed at all.

In answer to her interrogators as to the early instruction given to her, she said: "Que autre personne que sa dite mère ne lui apprint sa créance." Ibidem, interrog. du 22 février, p. 55.

In an account of her, given by a contemporary, in reference to the instruction that had been given her, we are told: "Que du reste elle est bien instruite et enseignée comme un bon enfant doit estre."

In several of her simple replies to her judges there is evidence of a full consciousness of her virtues, accompanied, however, with a deep sense of piety, strong reliance on God, and rectitude of heart and mind.

"Interrogée si elle avait apprins aucun art ou mestier, dist: 'Que oui et que sa mère lui avoit apprins à cousdre, et qu'elle ne cuidoit point qu'il y eust femme dans Rouen qui lui en sceust apprendre aucune chose. Ne alloit point aux champs garder les brebis ne autres bestes....—Depuis qu'elle a esté grande et qu'elle à eu entendement, ne les gardoit pas....; mais de son jeune âge, si elle les gardoit ou non, n'en a pas la mémoire.'" Procès, interrogatoire des 22 et 24 février 1431, p. 58, 69, éd, Buchon, 1827.

An old contemporary chronicler, in reference to the early instruction she received from her mother, says: "Et apprenoit à coudre; et filoit bien."

"Sa sublime ignorance," dit Michelet, "enfin qui fit taire tout science en sa dernière épreuve, et rendit muets les docteurs, c'est là un trait unique devant qui tout s'efface. Les vrais sages ici et les savants du cœur ne diront pas comme Moïse: 'Dieu a passé.... Je l'ai vu par derrière.' Ils diront: 'Le voici..... Cette lueur est le regard de Dieu.'"

"Ce mystère est fait pour confondre! Comment en saurions-nous la source, si elle-même ne l'eût révélée?"

Of the early life, habits, and instruction of Jeanne d'Arc, all that is most reliable is to be learned from her answers to the various interrogatories put to her by her judges, or referred to by her, as the replies she had given when examined at Poictiers, by an Ecclesiastical Commission appointed by the King—and from the testimony given by her relatives, and other inhabitants of her native place, at the proceedings in justification of her memory.

Of the amiable character and excellent disposition of Jeanne d'Arc, we have a testimony that speaks to the heart, in the deposition of one of the companions of her childhood, named Haumette, younger than Jeanne by three or four years—"Que de fois, dit elle j'ai etè chez son pere, et couchè avec elle, de bonne amitiè.... C'etait une bien bonne fille, simple et douce. Elle allait volontier à l'eglise

et aux Saints lieux. Elle filait, faisait le menage, comme font les autres filles..... Elle confessait souvent. Elle rougissait quand on lui des ait qu'elle etoit trop devot, qu'elle allait trop à l'Eglise." Another witness, a labouring man of the village, deposed to her numerous acts of kindness and charity towards the sick and poor of the neighbourhood; she gave all she could to them; her services to the one, —the little alms she could give to the other. "Je le sais bien dit il: j'etais enfant alors et c'est elle qui m'a soignè."*

In childhood, she was simple in her manners, pious, and of a glowing spirit in her devotions, good and gentle, and often pensive and abstracted. She delighted in gathering flowers—not for chaplets or wreaths for herself or her young companions, but for decorations of the statue of the Virgin or other saintly personages. As Jeanne advanced in years, a change seems to have taken place in her tastes and habits. She began to take a pleasure in the sight and management of horses, in laborious exercises, in the traditions of the evils which had befallen the country, and the struggles of its children. She became strongly excited by those relations. She had frequent visions, "peut etre des exstases secretes (dit Calmeil) favorisées encore sans doute par l'absence constante de certaines changes periodiques;" and those things may have influenced the destiny of Jeanne d'Arc. When asked by her judges what

* Proces de Rehabil.

motive had induced her to abandon her home and domestic duties for the camp of soldiers and a life so foreign to her habits, and unsuited to her sex—she had only a few words for an answer:

"*La Pitié* qu'il y avoit au royaume de France."

More words were unnecessary to express her sense of the evils which overwhelmed her unfortunate country, and caused all feelings of self and attachment to home and friends to yield to that great sentiment of compassion for the misfortunes of her native land.

On another occasion she gave expression to that profound sentiment of exalted patriotism by which she was animated, that sentiment of tender and all-absorbing interest in her country and its people, which made every wrong or injury suffered by either felt, as if it had been sustained by an individual friend:

"Je n'ai jamais vu *sang de François* que mes cheveux ne levassent."

"En combinant," dit Quicherat, "les indices fournis par des documents si incomplets, l'idée que je me fais de la petite fille de Domremy est celle d'un enfant sérieux et religieux, doué au plus haut degré de cette intelligence à part qui ne se rencontre que chez les hommes supérieurs des sociétés primitives. Presque toujours seule, à l'église ou aux champs, elle s'absorbait dans une communication profonde de sa pensée avec les saints dont elle contemplait les images, avec le ciel où on la voyait souvent tenir ses

yeux comme cloués. Cette fontaine, cet arbre, ces bois, sanctifiés par une superstition vieille comme le monde, elle leur communiquait sa sublime inquiétude, et dans leur murmure, elle cherchait à démêler les accents de son cœur. Mais du jour où l'ennemi apporta dans la vallée le meurtre et l'incendie, son inspiration alla s'éclaircissant de tout ce qu'il y avait en elle de pitié et de religion pour le sol natal."*

The contests of the French factions, and the English invaders with the partizans of the Dauphin Charles, extended even to the immediate precincts of the sequestered village of Domremy, and on more than one occasion compelled the affrighted inhabitants to abandon their native place and to seek a temporary refuge in the adjacent forests.† These events are said to have made a deep and an enduring impression on the mind of the young Jeanne, then only twelve years of age.

The disastrous battle and capture of Verneuil, in 1424, had very nearly proved the death-blow of Charles VII.

* Nouveaux Apercus, p. 10.

† Ce fut le 22 juillet 1424 que les troupes de Charles VII. perdirent cette funeste bataille de Verneuil ; et à la fin du mois de septembre suivant, des bandes de Picards qui venaient de soumettre Guise, portèrent le ravage sur les bords de la Meuse. Là commencèrent les tribulations des habitants de la vallée ; et leurs premières larmes ainsi que leur premier sang répandus, précédèrent de trop peu l'inspiration de la Pucelle pour n'avoir point contribué à lui donner son essor." Quicherat, ib. p. 3.

Du Haillan, in his "Histoire de France," en 12mo. 2 tomes. Par 1577, t. 2. p. 757, states that the loss of the French was enormous; by the English accounts 15,000 slain and 200 taken prisoners, their own loss being 2000. He states that the English had 400 Lombard troopers in that engagement, (all Italian mercenaries were called Lombards): and Quicherat says the French had 10,000 Scotch auxiliaries in the same battle.

"La bataille de Verneuil," dit Quicherat, "fut perdue moins par eux que par les Ecossais, leurs auxiliaires; dix mille hommes de cette nation y furent tués ou mis en déroute. Thomas Basin, qui a parlé de ces temps-là d'après ses conversations avec Dunois, représente le désastre des Ecossais comme une chose heureuse pour le royaume, tant leur alliance était incommode."*

We have a singular proof in the examination of Jeanne before her judges, of the discord which the feuds of the Armaignacs and Bourgingnons, produced even among children, in a sequestered village, that had only recently been familiarized with scenes of strife and contention.

"Interrogata si unquam fuit cum pueris qui pugnabant pro parte illa quam tenebat, respondit quod non unde habet memoriam; sed bene vidit quod quidam illorum de villa de Domremy qui pugnaverant contra illos de Maxey, inde aliquando veniebant bene læsi et cruentati." *Procès*, t. i. p. 66.

* Quicherat, Nouveaux Apercus, p. 17.

The country in which Jeanne d'Arc was born, was only definitively united to the crown of France in 1365. "C'était encore," dit Mignet, "pour ainsi dire, la frontière des partis; il y avait près de Domremy un dernier village du parti bourguignon, tout le reste était pour Charles VII.

"Cette marche de Lorraine et de Champagne avait en tout temps cruellement souffert de la guerre; longue guerre entre l'est et l'ouest, entre le roi et le duc, pour la possession de Neufchâteau et des places voisines; puis guerre du nord au sud, entre les bourguignons et les armagnacs. Le souvenir de ces guerres sans pitié n'a pu s'effacer jamais. On montrait naguère encore, près de Neufchâteau, un arbre antique au nom sinistre, dont les branches avaient sans doute porté bien des fruits humains: *Le chêne des partisans.*"*

There was an old tradition of a prophetic nature prevalent in France, in the time even of the childhood of "La belle et la brave fille," that a maiden should come out of Lorraine by whose heroic deeds France was to be saved from ruin.

Domremy had its legends and traditions, and among its inhabitants certainly one child of an imagination highly poetical: on whom such teachings were not likely to be lost: "Erant prophetiæ dicentes quod circa illud nemus debebat venire quædam puella quæ faceret mirabilia." *Procès* t. i. p. 68. "Fuit transmissa comiti de Suffort

* Michelet, Hist. de France.

una schedula papyrea in qua continebantur quatuor versus facientes mentionem quod una puella ventura est *du Bois-Chanu*, et equitaret super dorsum arcitenentium." *Ibid.* t. iii. p. 15. "In libro antiquo ubi recitabatur professio Merlini, invenit scriptum quod debebat venire quædam puella ex quodam nemore Canuto, de partibus Lotharingiæ." *Ibid.* p. 133. "Audivit eidem Johannæ dici: Nonne audistis quod prophetizatum fuit quod Francia per mulierem deperderetur et per unam virginem de marchiis Lotharingiæ restauraretur?" T. ii. p. 447.

"Humble à la vérité," dit Michelet, "mais déjà poétique. Son village était à deux pas des grandes forêts des Vosges. De la porte de la maison de son père, elle voyait de vieux bois *des chênes*. Les fées hantaient ce bois; elles aimaient surtout une certaine fontaine près d'un grand hêtre qu'on nommait l'arbre des fées, des *dames*. Les petits enfants y suspendaient des couronnes, y chantaient. Ces anciennes *dames* et maîtresses des forêts ne pouvaient plus, disait-on, se rassembler à la fontaine; elles en avaient été exclues pour leurs péchés. Cependant l'Eglise se défiait toujours des vieilles divinités locales; le curé, pour les chasser, allait chaque année dire une messe à la fontaine.

"Jeanne naquit parmi ces légendes, dans ces rêveries populaires. Mais le pays offrait à côté une tout autre poésie, celle-ci, sauvage, atroce, trop réelle, hélas! la poésie de la guerre.... La guerre! ce mot seul dit toutes les émotions; ce n'est pas tous les

jours sans doute l'assaut et le pillage, mais bien plutôt l'attente, le tocsin, le réveil en sursaut, et dans la plaine au loin le rouge sombre de l'incendie.

"Jeanne eut sa part dans ces romanesques aventures. Elle vit arriver les pauvres fugitifs, elle aida, la bonne fille, à les recevoir; elle leur cédait son lit et allait coucher au grenier. Ses parents furent aussi une fois obligés de s'enfuir. Puis, quand le flot des brigands fut passé, la famille revient... Les payans labourent, et le soldat moissonne. Nulle part le laboureur ne s'inquiète davantage des affaires du pays; personne n'y a plus d'intérêt; il en sent si rudement les moindres contre-coups! Il s'informe, il tâche de savoir, de prévoir; du reste, il est résigné, quoi qu'il arrivé, il s'attend à tout, il est patient et brave. Les femmes même le deviennent."*

From the age of thirteen or fourteen, Jeanne d'Arc was subject to frequent hallucinations of the organs of sight, hearing and smell. Luminous trains of surpassing brilliancy and visions of angels were seen by her at noonday. Strange voices were heard by her when she imagined she was quite alone, and fragrant odours were perceived by her when some of her spiritual visitors made their appearance. She had communication and councils with angels—visits from the archangel Michael, the angel Gabriel, St. Catherine, and St. Marguerite.†

* Mignet, Hist. de France.

† "Confessa fuit quod dum esset ætatis xiij annorum, ipsa habuit vocem a Deo..... et venit illa vox..... tempore æstivo." *Procès*, t. i. p. 52.

"Jeanne d'Arc, by her own account (to her judges), had reached her thirteenth year when she heard for the first time, the voice—*la voix*—which announced to her that France would be saved by her !"*

When doubts were implied of the reality of her visions, she declared their reality with energy :— "Je les vois des yeux de mon corps, disait-elle à ses juges, aussi bien que je vous vois vous-mêmes."

She solemnly asserted and steadfastly maintained that those angelic beings frequently appeared to her and spoke to her; that she saw them not with the eyes of the imagination but with her corporal eyes; that she only acted in conformity with their counsels; that she had never said nor undertaken any thing of importance without their directions. Calmeil, the celebrated physician of the Charenton, the least credulous of men, hereupon observes : "La Pucelle etoit trop veridique pour en imposer, trop ignorante d'ailleurs pour forger de pareilles inventions j'ai donc en raison d'avancer qu'elle avait etè entrainée pour une espece de folie sensoriale."†

She never varied one iota in her different recitals of her apparitions before her patrons, her spiritual advisers, her judicial murderers. The supernatural visitants who came down from heaven, in her firm belief and conviction, to counsel and direct her to save her country and her Sovereign, were no other angelic beings than those strong energies of

* Quicherat, Apercus Nouveaux, p. 1.

† La Folie, &c. tom. i. p. 130.

soul which animated her generous and noble nature. The voices of those spiritual visitants were all consonant to the one great fixed idea that had taken entire possession of her mind, were never heard by her but to rouse the enthusiasm of her love of country, and to deliver from its invaders that France she so idolized, that she had invested with all the attributes of a saintly kingdom — "La Sainte France."

This dominant idea is clearly pointed out by Quicherat in her responses, as they are reported in the Procès, and referred to by him in his later work, "Apercus Nouveaux (p. 6)."

"Elle regardait la France comme le royaume de Jésus, et dès lors les ennemis de ce saint royaume étaient pour elle les ennemis de Dieu."

The inhabitants of Troyes are thus addressed by her: "Jehanne la Pucelle, vous mande de par le roy du ciel, son droitturier et souverain seigneur, duquel elle est chacun jour en son service roial, que vous fassiez obéissance... au gentil roy de France qui sera bien brief à Rains et à Paris, et en ses bonnes villes du sainct royaulme, à l'ayde du roy Jésus." *Lettre de la Pucelle aux habitants de Troyes*, t. iv. p. 287. "Cette opinion de la suzeraineté de Dieu explique pourquoi Jeanne à son arrivée auprès de Charles VII., l'engage à faire la donation, c'est-à-dire la recommandation féodale de son royaume à Dieu, ce que témoignent le duc d'Alençon: 'Fecit regi plures requestas et inter alias quod

donaret regnum suum regi cœlorum,' (t. iii. p. 91) et le chroniqueur Eberhard de Vindeck: "Elle lui fit promettre de se démettre de son royaume, d'y renoncer et de le rendre à Dieu de qui il le tenait" (t. iv. p. 486).*

The first vision of Jeanne d'Arc occurred in the spring of 1425, about mid day, in her father's garden, on the eve of a festival.†

The church was close to that part of the garden where she was, and in the direction of it she perceived all of a sudden a most brilliant dazzling light, and while she stood gazing with terror on this bright light, she heard a voice saying to her: "Jeanne sois bonne et sage enfant, va souvent à l'Eglise:" and at the sound of this voice she was greatly frightened, "elle avait un grand peur."‡

Many days had not elapsed before she had another vision—the brilliant light was again seen, but in the midst of it she perceived figures of a noble appearance. One of these had wings and seemed to be an angel, but his form and mien were those of a *Prud'homme.* And this angelic personage said to her: "*Jeanne va au secours du Roi de France et tu*

* Procès, t. i. p. 204, et suiv.

† "Jeanne d'Arc, de son aveu, avait treize ans accomplis lorsqu'elle entendit pour la première fois la voix qui lui disait que la France serait sauvée par elle. Comme elle était née le jour des Rois 1412, ce fut dans le courant de l'année 1425 (le procès dit en temps d'été) qu'elle eut cette vision. Tout me porte à croire qu'elle y fut préparée par quelque chose d'extraordinaire survenu dans le pays qu'elle habitait." Quicherat, Apercus Nouv. p. 1.

‡ Proces. Interrog. du 22 Fev. 1431.

lui rendras son royaume." She answered, all trembling: "Messire je ne suis qu'une pauvre fille: Je ne saurais Chevaucher ni conduire les hommes d'armes."

The voice, *la voix* said to her: "Tu iras trouver M. de Baudricour Capitaine de Vaucouleurs et il te fera mener au roi. Sainte Catherine et Sainte Marguerite viendront t'assister."

The brightness passed away, the voice ceased to be heard, the poor girl remained for some time stupified with amazement, and then burst out crying.

The Prud'homme was St. Michael, the archangel of the flaming sword, who battled with the devil and his angels.

The same celestial visitor again appeared to her, found her spirit troubled and dejected, and he spoke to her and encouraged her, *et lui raconta la pitie* qui estoit au Royaume de France.*

The visions from this time became of frequent occurrence. Figures all in white; saints adorned with crowns appeared to her, and spoke with voices so sweet and full of tenderness, that they could not be heard without weeping. But when they took their departure she wept still more, and she wished with all her heart they had carried her away with them. "*J'aurais bien voulu que les anges m'eussent emportée.*"

At other times she felt ashamed in their presence. "Sæpe habebat verecundiam."†

* Proces. Interrog. du 15 Mars.

† Ib. Revision. Deposition de Haumette.

Her manner of speaking of the saints is remarkable. In some of her responses, when under examination, she called them *ses frères du Paradis.** In general she spoke of them as her voices, *ses voix.*

An able and eloquent French historian, Mons. Michelet, in his admirable notice of the career of Jeanne d'Arc, thus speaks of her inspiration. "Née sous les murs mêmes de l'église, bercée du son des cloches et nourrie de légendes, elle fut une légende elle-même, rapide et pure, de la naissance à la mort.

"Elle fut une légende vivante. Mais la force de vie, exaltée et concentrée, n'en devint pas moins créatrice. La jeune fille, à son insu, *créait,* pour ainsi parler, et *réalisait* ses propres idées, elle en faisait des êtres, elle leur communiquait, du trésor de sa vie virginale, une splendide et toute-puissante existence, à faire pâlir les misérables réalités de ce monde.

"Si *poésie* veut dire *création,* c'est là sans doute la poésie suprême. Il faut savoir par quels degrés elle en vint jusque-là, de quel humble point de départ."†

In referring to the opinions of the Abbé Langlet Du Fresnoy, on the subject of the nature and origin of the inspirations of Jeanne d'Arc, it must be remarked though the Abbé was a critic, a scholar, an enlightened, and an upright person, a minister of religion, of a tolerant and liberal spirit, he lived

* Proces, t. 2. p. 437.

† Hist. de France, Notice de J. d'Arc.

in times when a literary man with more safety to his reputation might be suspected of a tendency to swindling, than of a taint of superstition, which was implied by a disposition to believe any thing which Rationalism did not sanction, and deem explicable by its philosophy.

This observation may explain some anomalies in the following passages, which have reference to "an obvious direction of divine providence," given to the career of certain individuals, as distinguished from actual inspirations of a supernatural kind, conveyed in visions, dreams, or spiritual communications. But in drawing attention to those anomalies, it is by no means intended to call in question the sound sense, and solid judgment, evinced in the general tenor of those opinions, which are expressed by the author in this introductory matter.

The following is a literal version of those passages of Langlet Du Fresnoy, in his "Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc," &c. "To think that this girl had visions, apparitions, and revelations, I do not at all believe. I abandon this pious belief to persons of a less stubborn turn of mind than mine. But for these apparitions I substitute an interior persuasion, a reflective meditation which strikes, which animates, and strongly agitates the imagination; and it is the efforts of this last faculty which often represents to us, as real, objects which are but simple images which we picture to ourselves. We know that this is common in some particular maladiès, where the

sick man represents to himself things that do not exist, and which, nevertheless, he thinks as much reality as if they actually existed. Be assured that as a matter of piety the thing takes place in the same way. A mind that applies itself, and is vividly affected by an object, thinks it sees whatever has any relation to the object. It however sees it, but only in imagination. It can say, without sinning, that it has heard and seen what others have neither seen or heard. And it is even thus that a great number of visions and apparitions can be accounted for, which we find in the life of those souls, who are the subject of our admiration.

"The more perfect a soul is in good works, the more she is struck with this persuasion; it goes still further, it endeavours to persuade others of the truths with which itself is possessed. The activity of its imagination easily communicates itself to others. Examples of this kind are to be found every day: they cry at the theatre, they cry at sermons. It is, that the persuasion of the preacher, animated with a lively and active imagination, is communicated to the audience, and sometimes it is not so much the force of the reasoning, as the power of the imagination which causes them to think with the orator. We find, even during the time of La Pucelle, a fact which will serve to prove what I here advance.

"There was then at Troyes, a Franciscan friar, a celebrated preacher, (the Père Richard:) by the

energy of his discourses, let us rather say, by the force of his imagination, he had caused all the women in the city, unanimously, to burn in the market-place all their trinkets and ornaments, which were only luxuries and vanity. What I here call persuasion or an effect of the imagination, may be qualified by a title far more noble, it is that of enthusiasm and of heroism, for both the one and the other carry us on to that which is grand and sublime in all praiseworthy and virtuous actions: whereas what is evil and of passion, when carried to excess, has a name much less distinguished, it is that of *fanaticism*.

"As this enthusiasm, and this heroism in religion, is an effect of a superior grace, it is in the life of a civilian the consequence of the especial direction of Providence. In the military order, this enthusiasm, this heroism is an ardent spirit, a lively and fruitful imagination, it is an activity sustained by measures wisely undertaken, and which only finds its end and repose after its success.

"This heroic communication, or enthusiasm imparted from one to another, is an order of the direction of Providence. Let us now see if one can reason so, in regard to la Pucelle. It cannot be denied, that from her conduct she had a great and perfect confidence of succeeding in the work that she proposed; this confidence, long reflected and meditated upon, accompanied also with with her activity, is what I call heroism. And as in every thing she

undertook, she acted like a good general, as if the tranquillity of a whole kingdom was at stake, there is no doubt that then she was under the particular direction of Providence, without which nothing useful, nothing virtuous, and nothing generous can be undertaken, or can succeed.*

"When a Christian and truly religious mind devotes itself to some useful and salutary truth; when she makes it her only occupation; when its reflexions are often reiterated with the attention that truth requires, it becomes the only object of which the heart is sensible; the mind finds itself only affected by it, and sometimes even completely possessed with it. It would not then require much more to promise one's self by the effect of a holy confidence, the success of the things we desire. In that way enthusiasts represent it to themselves very vividly; they see in it, the effect and the success, from the goodness of God. They even pray that it may come to a happy termination. That soul may think that this holy trust, which can only come from Heaven, is a sort of inspiration of the good which she ardently desires. She believes with reason, that God being the author of holy and salutary thoughts which affected it, it will also produce the effect, and that is what they may call a species of intellectual apparition."†

Between the first vision of Jeanne d'Arc in 1424, and the departure from the house of her parents in

* Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc. Par M. l'Abbé Langlet du Fresnoy. Pref. † Ibid. p. 4.

1428, there was an interval of four years. Between parental authority and that of her *voix celestes* the conflict was severe, and from her own explanations of her anxieties and embarrassments, it appears that her life in this interval was greatly disquieted—was one of continual anxiety and disturbance. The angels of her visions urged her to leave her home, to serve her King, and save her country; her parents left nothing undone, when they discovered her purpose, to prevent her departure; her father had even said, he would rather drown her with his own hands than suffer her to encounter the dangers of going amongst bands of soldiers.*

It would appear that efforts were made to marry her to a young man of the village, and that they were opposed by her. The young man cited her before the ecclesiastical official of Toul, and complained that a promise had been given him, which the girl had refused to fulfil. She appeared before the official, denied that any promise had been given by her, declared that her determination was to lead a single life—to devote her maiden purity to God and the Blessed Virgin. The decision of the official was in her favour.

The circumstances that transpired between her first step towards the accomplishment of her great design in 1428,and her first interview with the King the year following, are clearly and concisely set forth by the Abbé Langlet du Fresnoy in his history of the heroine.

* Procès. Exam. du 12 Mars.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF THE MISSION OF JEANNE D'ARC—DEPARTURE FROM DOMREMY — INTERVIEW WITH THE DUKE OF LORRAINE AND THE KING —REVELATION OF SUPPOSED SECRETS — PREDICTIONS — EXAMINATION BY THE KING'S ORDERS AT POICTIERS — REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS — INTERVIEW WITH THE DUKE OF ALENCON — HER SUITE CONSTITUTED—PLACED AT THE HEAD OF 6000 TROOPS.

1428 TO 1429.

TOWARDS the middle of the month of May in the year 1428, Jeanne requested one of her uncles to conduct her to Vaucouleurs, to be presented to Captain Baudricourt.*

Her uncle took her on a pilgrimage to St. Nicholas, near Nancy. The Duke Charles of Lorraine having heard her spoken of, wished to see her, and sent her a passport to go to him to Nancy ;† it was near Whitsuntide, 1428. The prince was ill; but uneasiness of mind was more the occasion of his sickness than anything else: he did not fail to question her about the noise that was made in regard to herself. She avowed naturally that she wished to

* Hist. de Jeanne d'Arc, par Du Fresnoy, p. 8.

† Dépositions de la Dame de Touroulde.

go and assist the Dauphin; it was thus they called Charles VII., as he was not yet crowned. She then besought very earnestly the Duke to command his son-in-law (René d'Anjou, who had married his daughter), to have the goodness to conduct her to the Dauphin Charles, and that she would pray God to restore him to health. The Duke asked her what she thought of his illness, she replied ingenuously, that as he lived badly with the Duchess, (his wife,* who was a virtuous woman,) he would not recover if he did not change his life and his conduct in her regard. This is what was deposed at the revision of the Procès. The Duke dismissed her, and gave her four francs, which she immediately handed over to her uncle, who then placed it in the hands of her father and mother.†

Jeanne still persisted in her determination to present herself to her sovereign, and in the idea too, with which it seems she commenced her mission with regard to her attire. She declared that she was resolved upon putting on man's attire, and in that dress would be presented to the Dauphin. And the same uncle, again persecuted by his niece, conducted her a second time to Vaucouleurs, that she might communicate with Baudricourt, who again rebuffed her as he had done the first time.

At length the siege of Orleans taking place in the month of October, 1428, the French troops sus-

* Dépositions de la Dame de Touroulde.

† Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, Du Fresnoy, p. 10.

tained a defeat at La Beauce the first week of Lent, and this reverse was called *La Journée des Harengs*. Jeanne was again presented in the year 1429, for the third time to Baudricourt, and it was not without reluctance that he listened to her.

Baudricourt on this occasion, at his interview with la Pucelle, was greatly surprised at receiving from her a piece of intelligence of much importance, and then ignored by every one in the locality, namely, that on the 12th of February the King's troops had sustained a great reverse at Orleans: and he was still more astonished when, a little later, he found that intelligence confirmed by the news which the enemy had published throughout the kingdom of their recent success. That circumstance induced Baudricourt to send the girl to the King.

The inhabitants of Vaucouleurs defrayed the expenses of the outfit of la Pucelle, and furnished her with a complete suit of man's apparel, and even with a horse which cost sixteen francs. Baudricourt only gave her a sword, and chose out two persons from whom he exacted an oath to convey her without fail to the King, all these things were deposed to in the revision of the Proces. The cortege of la Pucelle consisted of seven persons, one of whom, *un gentilhomme Champenois*, appears to have volunteered his services in a chivalrous spirit.

"De toutes parts on venait la voir. Un gentilhomme lui dit pour l'éprouver: 'Eh bien! ma mie, il faut donc que le roi soit chassé et que nous

devenions Anglais.' Elle se plaignit à lui du refus de Baudricourt: 'Et cependant, dit-elle, avant qu'il soit la mi-carême, il faut que je sois devers le roi, dussé-je, pour m'y rendre, user mes jambes jusqu'aux genoux. Car personne au monde, ni rois, ni ducs, ni fille du roi d'Ecosse, ne peuvent reprendre le royaume de France, et il n'y a pour lui de secours que moi-même, quoique j'aimasse mieux rester à filer près de ma pauvre mère, car ce n'est pas là mon ouvrage; mais il faut que j'aille et que je le fasse, parce que mon Seigneur le veut.—Et quel est votre Seigneur?—C'est Dieu!' Le gentilhomme fut touché. Il lui promit 'par sa foi, la main dans la sienne, que sous la conduite de Dieu, il la mèneroit au roi.' Un jeune gentilhomme se sentit aussi toucher et déclara qu'il suivrait cette sainte fille."*

Baudricourt seeing la Pucelle on horseback, said to her: "*Va, et advienne tout ce qui pourra.*"†

She did not take leave of her father and mother for fear they might detain her, but she afterwards begged their pardon in a letter which she had caused to be written to them.

In the month of February, 1429, when Jeanne was *en route* from Vaucouleurs to Chinon, where her first interview with the King was to take place, passing through a country desolated by war, her attendants frequently complained of the hardships of the journey, and expressed their opinion of

* Michelet, Histoire de France.

† Intérogat. du 22 Fevrier, 1431, au Procès.

the dangers of it, (*ils avaient grande envie de l'abadonner*) "Ne craignez rien, disait-elle, Dieu me fait ma route; c'est pour cela que je suis née." Et encore: "Mes frères de paradis me disent ce que j'ai à faire."

Jeanne and her attendants traversed Champagne, Bourgogne, Nivernois, Berry, and Tourraine, without any disagreeable encounter: and in eleven days, in the month of February, having travelled more than 150 leagues on account of the many detours it was necessary to make to avoid the enemy's fortresses, they arrived without accident or impediment, a thing even difficult in time of peace, and as it would seem almost impossible during an intestine war. Ineffectually did they try to alarm her on the road. She said to her conductors, Fear nothing, we shall assuredly arrive at Chinon, and the King will give you a good reception.*

When Jeanne arrived at Saint Catherine de Fierbois in Tourraine, the Sieur de Novelempont, who was a witness of the facts he relates, notifies how much he was edified with the piety and gentle compassionate nature of the Pucelle, as well as with her extraordinary courage and patience in enduring dangers and fatigue, who, notwithstanding all difficulties of the journey, always endeavoured on the route to attend to her religious duties, to hear mass and continually gave alms to the poor. Two of her attendants have avowed that for some days

* Déposition de Bertrand Polengi du Samedi, 6 Fevrier, 1456.

after they had set out on their journey they had felt disposed to get rid of their charge, looking on her as they did, as not being in her right senses.* But at length she gained such an influence over them, they resolved upon obeying her in everything. The King was at Chinon, six or seven leagues south-west of Tours. Jeanne dispatched to him from the latter place the letters of Captain Baudricourt, and let him know that she was waiting the orders of his Majesty to go and render homage to him.

The King and his councillors were two days deliberating, without making her any answer. At the end of that time she was sent for and went to Chinon. She was presented that night to King Charles by the Comte de Vendôme; the entire hall was illuminated with flambeaus, the King was disguised, and was in the midst of his courtiers. La Pucelle, who had never seen him, at once sought him out in the crowd, threw herself at his feet and embraced them, although in order to try her the courtiers told her that she was mistaken. But she still persisted in saying that she knew well that she was speaking to the Dauphin; and addressed him in these words: "*Gentil Dauphin*, my name is Jeanne La Pucelle, and the King of Heaven has sent me to succour you, if it may please you to give me fighting men, by the help of Divine grace and the force of arms I will cause the siege of Orleans to be raised, and will conduct you to

* Déposition de la Dame de Touroulde.

Rheims to be crowned there, in spite of all your enemies. This is what the King of Heaven has commanded me to tell you ; and that it is his will that the English should retire into their own country, and leave you in peace in your kingdom, as being the true, only, and legitimate heir ; that if you make an offering of it up to God, he will render it back greater and more flourishing than your predecessors ever enjoyed it, and "will cause misfortune to the English if they do not retire."*

The King and his Court were not only astonished at the way in which the young woman recognized him, but also at the confidence with which a girl of her age spoke, brought up amongst poor peasants without education or any knowledge of the world. The King commanded the Sieur Guillaume Bellier, his maître d'hotel and Bailli of Troyes, to lodge her in his house ; and his wife a lady of virtue and merit, took great care of her. And without delay the Court dispatched a trustworthy person to Captain Baudricourt at Vaucouleurs, to Domremy† and to Greux, to make inquiries as to the life and conduct of the girl, as also with regard to the character of her parents. The messenger brought back accounts which spoke only in terms of praise of the girl and her parents.

Nevertheless the Pucelle found a strange opposition to her in the Court, on the part of the councillors of

* Dépositions du Duc d'Alençon.

† Dépositions de Jean Barbin, Avocat du Roi.

the King, the Princes, the Captains, and leaders of the armed bands, who could not be pleased at finding the advice of a young woman, without experience or knowledge, listened to by the King, and feeling as they did, they could not obey her without dishonour to themselves. They remonstrated with the King, and said he would be the laughing-stock of all Europe, and the ridicule of the English, to have given credit to the promises of a fanatic girl, as the French would surely be defeated by their enemies; that it was a disgrace to the nation to allow itself to be led by a mere visionary, a people who had never suffered that a woman should ascend the throne and yet allow her to be placed at the head of an army. To do this they maintained would be to realize the pretensions of the English Sovereign, and Catherine of France, who aspired to the French throne.

The Council did not make much account of the pretensions of la Pucelle, they feared, and not unreasonably, that some imposture might be mingled with them; and in their doubts on this subject they consulted several persons, and above all, prelates of well known experience and reputation.*

They had her examined by Regnaut de Chartres, archbishop of Rheims, who had within the last three months been made Chancellor of France. They joined with him Christophe de Harcourt, bishop of Castres, confessor of the King; Guillaume Charpen-

* Langley Du Fresnoy, ib. pp. 15, &c.

tier, bishop of Poitiers; Nicolas le Grand, bishop of Senlis; the Bishop of Montpellier; Jean Jourdain, doctor of theology in Paris, and many other doctors. She was interrogated in the presence of Jean II. Duc d'Alençon, Prince Royal, upon her faith and religion, as to how long she had turned those things in her mind; why she had changed the dress of her sex, and by what means she pretended to effect her projects. She replied to all these questions with as much modesty, as with simplicity and prudence.

All these examinations being finished, and the answers being favourable to the Pucelle, the examiners began from that time to think that it might not be impossible, but that God intended to make use of a simple shepherdess to execute something great for the deliverance of France.* Finally, they made a report to the King favourable to the character and pretensions of Jeanne d'Arc!

The Pucelle went back to the King, and as the persons about the latter were still in doubt as to what they ought to do in regard to her, she drew him aside to tell him of a mental prayer† that he had made to the Blessed Virgin on a particular

* Déposition de Jean Barbin.

† La Pucelle dit au Roi que le jour de la Toussaint derniere (1428), le Prince étant seul dans son oratoire, avoit prié Dieu que si il étoit légitime successeur de la couronne, il daignât la lui conserver, si non qu'il lui accordât quelque consolation. C'est aussi ce qu'insinuent la plupart des inscriptions du "Recueil." Du Fresnoy.

occasion, the knowledge of which Charles believed had been confined to his own breast.

Jeanne had scarcely communicated this secret knowledge of the prayer to the King, than he at once changed his resolutions, and avowed to his Court, that this girl had told him of secret things which he had never informed any person of, and that were known to God alone. It is stated by Du Fresnoy, but on doubtful authority, that Jeanne said to the King, her mission being only for one year, or about that time, it was necessary to hasten his coronation. They then asked the girl, why she gave the King only the title of Dauphin; "she assured them that he would only be truly King and in possession of his kingdom, after he had been crowned at Rheims, that from that time his affairs would prosper, as much as those of the English would fall into decay."

The Duke d'Alençon was not at Chinon when Jeanne was presented for the first time. He arrived there some days afterwards, and when he entered, La Pucelle inquired who he was. The King replied, that he was the Duke d'Alençon, upon which she made answer, *Soyez le très bien venue*; the more royal princes there are here, the more will things prosper. The next day she was at the same mass as the King, and when she perceived him she bowed very profoundly. After the mass, the King ordered her to be brought to his room, and made

* Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, par M. l'Abbé Du Fresnoy, p. 21, 22.

all the courtiers retire, except the Duke d'Alençon, and the Sieur de la Tremouille; Jeanne on this occasion is said to have made several requests of the King; but the chief request was that he would offer up his kingdom to God, who would restore it to him, such as his predecessors had possessed it.*

Still there was opposition in the Court to the Pucelle, and rumours and reports which determined the King to subject the girl to another examination that had reference to her claim to the title she had adopted.

The Queen of Sicily, mother-in-law to the King, was charged, with the Ladies de Gaucour and Treves, and certain matrons, with this examination, which resulted in a declaration entirely in accordance with Jeanne's own representations.

We are told by several of her biographers that her beauty, which was not of an ordinary kind, was accompanied with so much virtue and such great modesty, that her very look was sufficient to restrain any emotions of a nature calculated to lead to any conduct towards her offensive or insulting, so long, at least, as she was in the enjoyment of liberty.† In towns or villages she always lodged with discreet and virtuous women. And although her iniquitous judges, in their sentence of condemnation, treated her as a heretic, a schismatic, a sorceress, as one who had relapsed into diabolical crimes,

* Dépositions du Duc d'Alençon. † Ibid.

they never ventured to call her purity in question. She was even visited whilst in prison at Rouen by matrons on the part of the English, who gave the same testimony as those of Chinon. But this, we are told, did not prevent repeated insults being offered to her by those who had charge of her, and her complaints of this brutality induced the Duchess of Bedford, sister of the Duc de Bourgogne,* to insist that the English should refrain from offering any insult or violence to the prisoner. But these outrages were not confined to those inflicted by common soldiers. A noble lord was accused of so far forgetting his honour and his manhood as to have offered insult to her. It was on account of these outrages she stated to her judges, she felt herself constrained again in prison to assume the dress of a man which she had put off.

When the King went to Poictiers, where the Parliament was then sitting, he was attended by Jeanne d'Arc. The pretensions of the Pucelle were brought under the notice of the Parliament. Theologians were again appointed to examine her, and these learned gentlemen appeared to small advantage in the investigation. They demanded a miraculous sign of her power, and she replied: "En mon Dieu je ne suis pas venue à Poitiers pour faire

* Déposition du Sieur Jean Massieu du 17 Décembre 1455, et d'autres déposition de Guillaume Colles de Bois Guillelme, du 18 Dècembre de la même année. L'un et l'autre étoient Greffiers du Procés criminal de 1431. Autre déposition de Jean Marchel.

signe, la signe que m'a etè ordonnée pour montrer que je suis envoyée de Dieu, c'est de faire lever la siège d'Orleans, que on me donne des gens d'armes en telle et de si petite quantite qu'on voudra et j'vrai."

She referred frequently in her answers on her trial at Rouen to the examinations which had taken place at Poictiers, for the information which her judges demanded.*

Quicherat says, it is greatly to be regretted, that the official report of the Procès Verbaux of the examinations she underwent at Poictiers, *document capital*, before the King accepted her services, is not to be found. On her trial, she repeatedly referred her accusers to those examinations, in proof of her innocence, but her judges were too discreet to recur to them.

Either these documents were lost from negligence, or the policy of her worthless sovereign had led to their destruction.

All these perplexing examinations and interrogatories had lasted several weeks after her first interview with the King. At length the resolution of the last council being favourable to her, they regulated

* "Si de hoc faciatis dubium, mittatis Pictavis ubi alias ego fui interrogata." *Procès*, t. i. p. 71. "Illud bene scivi aliquando, sed oblita sum; et est positum in registro apud Pictavis." *Ibid.* p. 72. "Dicit quod bene vellet quod interrogans haberet copiam illius libri qui est Pictavis." *Ibid.* p. 73. "Non recordor si hoc fuerit mihi petitum; et illud est scriptum in villa Pictavensi." *Ibid.* p. 94.

the order of her establishment. The King confided her to the Sieur Dolon,* who was afterwards Sénéchal de Beaucaire, one of the most learned and wisest gentlemen in the kingdom; he was named her Comptroller. She was well furnished and equipped, and provided suitably with officers, squires, and other attendants. Besides her brothers who accompanied her, Du Fresnoy says, on all occasions, she had also a chaplain, an Augustinian friar, named Frere Jean Pasquerel, who faithfully followed her up to the time of her captivity. The King wished to give her a handsome sword, which she refused; but she besought the King to send for one which was buried behind the great altar of the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, though she had never seen it, and no one, it is said, had ever told her of it, and on that point she was strictly interrogated on her trial, and accused of sorcery, on account of the crosses that were engraved upon that sword. The Sieur Dolon ordered her to wear proper armour to defend her person. She herself took care to be supplied with a banner which she always either carried or had carried before her.

Everything being in readiness, the King put her at the head of six thousand men, with whom she reached Blois the 18th or 19th of March, 1429, accompanied by Regnaut de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims and Chancellor of France, as also the Seigneur de Gaucourt, Grand Master of the King's house-

* Voyez sa dépositions dans les Preuves.

hold.* She there made some stay, during which time they prepared a large convoy of provisions to be taken to Orleans; and, before leaving, she dictated a letter she intended to be sent to the English.

* Déposition du Comte de Dunois du 22 Février, 1456.

CHAPTER III.

JEANNE D'ARC SUMMONS THE DUKE OF BEDFORD ON THE PART OF GOD TO YIELD UP THE TOWNS AND TERRITORIES OF THE KING OF FRANCE WHICH HE HAD SEIZED ON—HER EXPLOITS BEFORE ORLEANS — DEFEATS THE ENGLISH TROOPS—THE SIEGE RAISED—HER ENEMIES IN THE COURT OF CHARLES VII. — INGRATITUDE OF THAT PRINCE—JEANNE'S EXPLOITS IN THE BATTLE OF MEUNY—ENGAGEMENTS WITH THE ENEMY AT BEAUGENCY, GERGEAU, BEAUCE, AND PATAY.

1429—1430.

SUMMONS sent by Jeanne d'Arc to the Duke of Bedford and other English commanders at Orleans.

"+ Jesus Maria +

Roi d'Angleterre, et vous, Duc de Betfort, qui vous dites Régent de Royaume de France: vous, Guillaume de la Poule, Comte de Suffort, Jean Sire de Tallebot, et vous, Thomas Sire d'Esclaves, qui vous dites Lieutenant du dit Duc de Betfort, faites raison au Roi du Ciel (rendez a *la Pucelle* qui est ici*

* Ce qui est ici en Italics à été changé et altéré par ses juges, et aulieu de cette phrase (*rendez à la Pucelle, &c.*), il y avoit dans ses lettres originales, rendez au Roi les choses de toutes les bonnes villes, &c. Interrogat. du 22 Février, 1431.

envoyée par Dieu le Roi du Ciel), les choses de toutes les bonnes villes que vous avez prises et violées en France: elle est ici venue de par Dieu pour reclamer le sang Royale: elle est toute prête de faire paix si vous lui voulez faire raison: par ainsi que France vous mettez jus et payerez ce que vous l'avez tenue. Et entre vous, archiers, compaignons de guerre, gentils, et autres qui etes devant la ville d'Orléans, allez vous en votre pays de par Dieu; et si ainsi ne le faites, attendez les nouvelles de la Pucelle, qui vous ira voir briévement, à vous biens grands dommages. Roi d'Angleterre, si ainsi ne le faites (je suis Chef de guerre)* et en quelque lieu que je atteindrai† vos gens en France, je les ferai aller, veuillent ou non veuillent; et s'il ne veuillent obéir, je les ferai tous occire; je suis envoyée de par Dieu le Roi du Ciel (*Corps pour Corps*)‡ pour vous bouter de toute France; et si veuillent obéir, je les prendrai à merci: et n'ayez point en votre opinion: car vous ne tiendrez point le Royaume de France; Dieu le Roi du Ciel, fils Sainte Marie, ains le tiendra le Roi Charles vrai héritier, car Dieu le Roi du Ciel le vent, et lui est révélé par la Pucelle; lequel entrera à Paris en bonne compagnie. Si vous ne

* "Je suis Chef de guerre: ces mots ne sont pas dans l'original."

† "Il faut lire atteindrai."

‡ "Corps pour Corps et Chef de guerre. Nie que ces mots soient dans l'original de ses lettres." Interrogat. du 22 Février. 1431.

voulez croire les nouvelles de par Dieu et la Pucelle, en quelque lieu que vous trouverons, nous ferirons dedans, et y ferons un si grand ahai, que encore a-il mils ans que en France ne fut si grand. Si vous ne faites raison et croyez fermement que le Roi du Ciel envoyera plus de force à la Pucelle, que vous ne lui sauriez mener de tous assaux, à elle et à ses bons gendarmes : et aux restes verra — t'on qui aura meilleur droit de Dieu du Ciel. Vous, Duc de Betfort, la Pucelle vous prye et vous requiert que vous ne vous fossiez mie destruire : si vous lui faites raison, encore pourrez venir en sa compagnie, où que les Français feront le plus bel effet que oncques fut fait par la Chretienté. Et faites reponses si vous voulez faire paix en la cité d'Orléans ; et si ainsi ne le faites, de vous biens grands dommages vous souvienne briéfement. Escrit ce Samedi Semaine Sainte."

This letter was made the subject of many interrogatories on the part of her judges on her trial, and of grave censure in the documents relating to her condemnation. The judges were even anxious to make out a crime against her for having put two crosses, one before and the other after the names of Jesus, Maria. They pretended that it was a kind of witchcraft. She was charged with the same crime for having engaged certain ecclesiastics of Blois to place themselves at the head of the convoy, destined for the relief of Orleans, and causing them to march under banners, upon which she had had the letters

J. C. painted on a cross, and having a similar banner carried by her chaplain. On the arrival of the Pucelle in the vicinity of Orleans, the state of the river did not allow of the boats coming up which were charged with provisions for the town. The soldiers had to convey the provisions by land, but the captains would not attempt the route which Jeanne was desirous they should take, on the borders of La Beauce, where she was anxious to attack the English, who had the bulk of their army in that locality. When the convoy was near the city, the Pucelle accosted the Comte de Dunois, and said to him: "*Vous etes le bâtard d'Orleans,*" which he avowed. She then vehemently reproached him for the refusal of the commanders to conduct the convoy on the side of La Beauce. Dunois remarking that the council had deliberated on the route and determined according to their judgment:* "*Eh, dit-elle, quoi! le Conseil de mon Dieu n'est-il pas plus sur que le vôtre? Vous croyez m'avoir trompé, mais vous-même vous etes trompé puisque je vous amene un secours de sa part.*" After this vehement sally, Dunois begged her to enter the town where she was expected, which she refused to do, she said she would not abandon those who accompanied her, nor forego the privilege of celebrating a religious service she had ordered to be prepared before entering the town.

The day after she arrived, she sent to the Eng-

* Dépositions du Comte de Dunois, du 22 Fevr., 1456.

lish camp to claim a herald of hers, whom they had captured and detained, according to the laws of war.

The besiegers were not ignorant of the punctilios of military honour; they made no difficulty in sending back the herald, but they charged him with a message abounding with gross insults and outrages to la Pucelle.

Sunday, the 1st of May, la Pucelle attacked the Bastille at the Fort des Tournelles; but she first had a message conveyed to the English officer who commanded the fort, strongly advising him to concur in a peace with France, and with those under him to return to his own land, that otherwise a great misfortune would befall both him and them. The reply of the commandant of the fort was by abusive language, more outrageous than the former, and which excited her so much that she is said to have shed tears.*

The same day, Sunday, the Comte de Dunois left the city, to go and meet the second convoy that the Maréchal de Sainte Severe and the Seigneur de Retz were escorting from Blois, and which they were conducting like the first by the way of La Sologne. On the 4th, la Pucelle marched out of the town with some general officers to receive this convoy of provisions, which had not taken above five or six days to travel from Blois to Orleans, without the English having made any attempt to attack it. But it may with truth be said, that since the arrival of la Pucelle, the English had fallen into

* Dépositions de P. Jean Pasquerel.

a state of lethargy; and more than 25 years after the expedition to Orleans for its relief, the Comte de Dunois is obliged to avow, that before the arrival of the Pucelle in Orléans, one or two hundred of the English might put to flight a thousand of the king's troops; but that since her entry in the city, four or five hundred French had attacked and beaten the best portion of the English army.*

On the 4th of May, the general officers held a council without the knowledge of la Pucelle; they determined not to risk any thing, and to tire out the enemy by a procrastinated and defensive warfare, until such time as they should receive the succours the King was preparing from all quarters, the city in the meantime being tolerably well stored with various kinds of provisions.

The 5th of May, Ascension Day, la Pucelle and the general officers held a council on a proposed attack on the three forts on the land side of the city, and on the following day for an attack on the forts on the side towards Sologne. The former were precisely those which the English had best fortified, because that was the only spot from which the besieged could receive any assistance.

Friday, the 6th, la Pucelle being ready very early in the morning, marched out at the head of four thousand men, all very eager for the attack, as the English were earnest in preparations for the defence. The latter, however, when they perceived

* Dans la même déposition.

the disposition of the French, abandoned one of their forts, and retired to the two others, which were much stronger. One of those was attacked by la Pucelle; and the English, after defending it with their accustomed vigour, found themselves at length forced to surrender. While the battle was going on without the walls of Orleans, the heroine was informed a council had been held, in which certain resolutions were taken, which were not in accordance with her views. She said to her informant:

"Vous avez été en votre conseil, dit-elle; et j'ai été au mien."* Et se tournant vers son chapelain: "Venez demain à la pointe da jour, et ne me quittez pas; j'aurai beaucoup à faire; il sortira du sang de mon corps; je serai blessée au-dessus du sein."

"Le matin, son hôte essaya de la retenir. Restez, Jeanne, lui dit-il; mangeons ensemble ce poisson qu'on vient de pêcher.—Gardez-le, dit-elle gaiement; gardez-le jusqu'à ce soir, lorsque je repasserai le pont après avoir pris les Tournelles; je vous amènerai un *Godden* qui en mangera sa part."†

There still remained a third fortress in the possession of the English, and one of the utmost consequence to the besiegers. It had been stored with everything that was necessary for their army. They made a regular approach to it, and the attack was postponed

* "Vos fuistis in vestro consilio, et ego in meo." (Procés ms. de Révision, déposition du confesseur de la Pucelle. *Notices de mss.*, iii. 359.)

† Proces de Revision. Depos. de Collet.

till the following day, Saturday. Six hundred picked men defended it; but la Pucelle would not lose sight of this object, the most important of all: she then remained armed the entire night at the head of her troops. Scarcely had the sun risen, when she ordered them to erect ladders against the walls for the assault.

While giving the necessary commands, she was wounded in the throat by an arrow, which entered the flesh and made a wound of upwards of an inch deep. Some soldiers wanted to apply a charm to the wound.* "The will of God be done," she said; "I would rather die than do anything that I believed to be a sin—anything contrary to the will of God." They then only applied a dressing of olive-oil and lard to the wound. The wounded girl was the only person who did not seem in the least alarmed or disturbed, and as night approached, the Comte de Dunois, who saw the vigorous resistance of the enemy, wished to sound a retreat; this order was countermanded by the Pucelle, who assured him that they would very soon be masters of that fort. She then mounted her horse and retired alone to a vineyard at some distance. She remained there about half a quarter of an hour in prayer, after which she returned to the attack on the fort, took her standard,

* C'est une superstition soldatesque, au moyen de laquelle on fait quelques cérémonies sur la plaie de celui qui est blessé, et l'on, dit quelques paroles supposées mystérieuses; l'on prétend que par-là on guérit le blessé. Du Fresnoy.

and placed herself on the brink of the moat. Then the English began to give way, and the French, who felt animated by the presence of the heroine, mounted boldly to the assault, and finally took the fort.* The garrison were either slain or drowned, with the exception of a very few who were taken prisoners. "Jeanne could not refrain from shedding tears at the death of so many persons, whose souls were in greater danger than their bodies." She expressed regret particularly at seeing the dead body of that commandant, who had so lately overwhelmed her with injurious language. The Generals, the Duc d'Alençon and the Comte de Dunois, were forced to agree, long after, that this fort had been taken by a kind of miracle, as it was so strongly fortified.†

"Le siége avait duré sept mois, du 12 Octobre, 1428, au 8 Mai, 1429. Dix jours suffirent à la Pucelle pour délivrer la ville; elle y était entrée le 29 Avril au soir. La jour de la délivrance resta une fête pour Orléans; cette fête commençait par l'éloge de Jeanne d'Arc, une procession parcourait la ville, et au milieu marchait un jeune garçon qui représentait la Pucelle. (Polluche, *Essais hist. sur Orléans*, remarque 77, Lebrun de Charmette, ii. 128.)"

Jeanne entered the town the same evening (Saturday), leaving the French troops in the captured fort and on the field of battle. Early in the morning,

* Même deposition du Comte de Dunois.

† Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, par M. L'Abbé du Fresnoy, pp. 37, 38, 39.

she came back, however, with a fresh body of men, to prevent any surprise on the part of the enemy.

This was on Sunday morning, the 8th of May. She found the English and French drawn up in line of battle, and on the point of engaging—the French acting on the offensive, and the English shewing a desire to retreat. Jeanne gave orders that the enemy should not be attacked; saying, "If they made the least movement in advance, she would attack them; but since they were retreating, they should be allowed to go."*

She then went back to the town, saying, "it was necessary to return thanks to God for *His* deliverance of Orleans from such great peril." The English abandoned their heavy artillery and a great deal of baggage, munitions of war, and provisions.

At her first appearance before the besieged, she said to some of the *bourgeosie*, by whom she was greeted on her arrival, "Monseigneur, m'a envoyée pour secourir la bonne ville d'Orleans." Her word was kept with the *bourgeosie*.

The Duke d'Alençon, who had inspected the forts long after the siege, in his deposition on the occasion of the Process of Justification, said they could only have been taken by a kind of miracle, and that Ambrose de Lorat had assured him, "that all the operations of the Pucelle during the siege surpassed human strength."

There is nothing more surprising in the qualities of

* Deposition de Jean Huillier.

this extraordinary young woman, than the marvellous activity of her mind, and the clearness of the perception she evinced on all great occasions, and in the midst of dangers and difficulties.

The morning after the siege had been raised, she took her departure from Orleans, though so recently wounded, accompanied by the Count Dunois, and several other *seigneurs*, and proceeded to Loches, where the King was then staying. It was one of the royal habitudes of this most worthless and least chivalrous of princes, to enjoy his ease and dignity and the society of his fawning intriguing courtiers and of his "*dames*," and chiefly of his favourite Agnes Sorrel, in some secure chateau or fortified place, in the vicinity of, but at a convenient distance from, the scenes of strife and fields of battle where his adherents and the defenders of his cause were fighting for him. But France was the object of the love, the solicitude, the incessant meditation, the ardent prayers, the irrepressible enthusiasm, and the aim and end of all the chivalry of Jeanne d'Arc.

She had created for herself the beau ideal of a spiritual kingdom, separated from the nations unto Christ; and la Sainte France was to be that kingdom. Sixty-seven years later, a similar opinion was the dominant idea of the preaching and teaching of the renowned monk of Ferrara, the burden of his spiritual song, the never-failing subject of his homilies and meditations. Florence was to be the spiritual State of Italy, and that most illustrious man of

all his order, perhaps of all the religious orders, Savanarola, the Christian hero of the 15th century, believed it was a main part of the great mission that was given to him by God to effect the establishment of that new kingdom.

He was burned partly for that belief, and chiefly for denouncing the scandals of the ecclesiastical discipline of his time, and the grievous disorders of the Court of Rome.

Jean d'Arc was burned for acting on the belief that France belonged to its own princes, to whom God had given it: that it was destined to be governed for God, and held by her sovereign as a fief from that Supreme Governor of all realms.

Jeanne saw in Charles VII. the personification of France, and all her affections were centred in that object.

Her love was of that nature that can see no defects in face or form of the object she had taken to her heart.

Charles, individually, was indeed utterly unworthy of her solicitude. He proved himself, on numerous occasions, quite undeserving of the sacrifices his followers and their leaders made for him. He skulked from the camp, and sought his ease and his security in the midst of his courtezans, in holes and corners, in any stronghold that remained to him, and this was what he called holding his court.

" Un de ses conseillers," dit Quicherat, " se plaignant à lui, lui écrivait un jour : ' Vous voulez toujours

être caché en châteaux, méchantes places et manières de petites chambrettes, sans vous montrer et ouïr les plaintes de votre pauvre peuple."*

When Jeanne arrived at Loches from Orleans, and was admitted to the presence of Charles, she threw herself at his feet, and said, "Gentil Dauphin, voila le siege d'Orléans levè, qui est la premiere chose, dont jeu commandement de la part du Roy du Ciel, pour le bien de votre service; reste maintenant à vous mèner à Rheims, en toute surète pour y etre sacrè et courounèe ne faites aucuns doubtes, que vous n'y soyez tres bien recu: et qu'après cela vos affaires n'aillent: toujours prosperant, et que tout ce que j'ai ordre de vous dire de la part du Roi du Ciel, de vous dire et assurer n'arrive en temps et lieu."

The poor Maid of Orleans was overwhelmed with lip honour. The King and the cavaliers vied in professions of gratitude, "c'etoit a qui l'accableroit de politesses."† And all this effusion of politeness was on the part of a King and a Court, who, a little later, when the same heroine was in captivity and under trial, and eventually put to death for her services to her King and country, never stirred a foot, nor raised a hand, nor spoke a word to save her, or to procure the slightest mitigation of her sufferings.

"Georges de La Trémouille était un aussi mauvais

* Epître de Jean Jouvenel des Ursins à Charles VII., ms. Saint-Germain français, n° 352, fol. 74, à la Bibliothèque nationale.

† Du Fresnoy, Part 1. p. 41.

homme que Louis de La Trèmouille, son petit-fils, fut un héros accompli. Avide, cabaleur, despote, faux," &c.*

This man's hostility to Jeanne, secretly and astutely pursued, from her first appearance at Chinon to the close of her career, is plainly set forth by Quicherat, and from his various references to that hostility, it is evident he considered Trèmouille had been instrumental in the miscarriage of her plans and operations before Paris and at Compiegne.

"Le ministre de Charles VII. subit la Pucelle; mais ce fut pour travailler à ruiner son influence: ouvrage qu'il dirigea avec une infernale perfidie, et en faisant tomber le plus qu'il put sur ses collègues l'odieux de l'exécution."†

The poltroon King, and the unprincipled minister who governed him, the Count of Trèmouille, were not favourable to the proposed expedition to Rheims —a place seventy leagues distant, and all the strongholds of the intervening country being in the hands of the English and Bourguignons. Several councils were held on the subject of the proposed expedition. Jeanne was not called to any of them. The councillors were already plotting the downfall of the influence of the Pucelle, and preparing snares for her feet, discomfiture for her plans, and a dead weight of secret opposition in the Council to all her proposals and designs.

On one occasion while the Rheims affairs were

* Quicherat, Apercus, &c. p. 26. † Ibid. p. 27.

under deliberation in the Council the King retired with the Bishop of Castres to his cabinet without having come to any decision. Jeanne thought the time was come to dispense with ceremonies, and to cause her decision to be adopted by the vacillating sovereign. The King had scarcely entered the cabinet when Jeanne presented herself at the door, and demanded admittance. That peasant's daughter of Domremy had surely some blood in her veins of a right noble and generous sort—the genuine "*Sangrè Azul*," that glows with a just pride in heroic qualities, with the consciousness of generous feelings and great purposes, and thrills in every pulse with the inspirations of a magnanimous spirit: some of that kind of blood which runs in the veins of those endowed with heaven's highest gift of genius, when the time comes which calls forth its greatest energies. On that urgent occasion, she said to her sovereign: "Noble Dauphin, no more of these long debates, but make your preparation for the journey to Rheims, to receive a worthy (reward), a crown, the sign and mark of the reunion of your states, and of all your subjects in obedience to you."*

The King, after this scene with the Pucelle, sent to let the Council know, who were still assembled, that la Pucelle had forewarned him of the difficult position in which he was, and that it was necessary he should determine upon the journey to Rheims, notwithstanding all the inconveniences they might encounter, and therefore that they must prepare

* Hist. de J. D'Arc, Du Fresnoy, p. 42.

themselves for the march: but in the meantime it was decided that they should make themselves masters of the towns on the Loire, both above and below Orleans.

The Duke d'Alençon, who had only just returned from England, was then nominated General of the troops who were to conduct the King to Rheims.

The body of this army was to be formed of six hundred lancers, five thousand cavalry, and six thousand foot soldiers. The *rendezvous* was to be in the environs of Orleans, on the 11th of June.

In the meantime, the King's troops attacked Gergeau above Orleans, where there were twelve hundred English who were well provided with all kinds of ammunition necessary for a good and vigorous defence. The following day, the 12th, they made a breach large enough, and very practicable to mount to the assault. The besieged demanded a parley. This siege lasted but a short time; but the Duke d'Alençon, and la Pucelle were in great danger there: she however advised the Duke to be of good courage, and at the same time, she pushed on the assault, and they continued the attack, and kept rallying the troops for upwards of four hours with extraordinary bravery and vigour; la Pucelle always shewed them a bright example of daring courage, and was the first to mount the walls; she was in imminent danger of being killed by a large mass of stone, which fell and was broken in pieces at her feet; she did escape injury from it, but not-

withstanding, the blow had thrown her to the ground, she nevertheless rose up and cried out: *Amys, amys, sus, sus, notre Seigneur a condamné les Anglais; ils sont à nous.* At these words, the French soldiers rushed forward, mounted the walls, seized on the place, and eleven hundred of the English were killed there. The Earl of Suffolk was taken prisoner with the Governor, as also several other noblemen.

The English, who were in despair at this defeat at the hands of a simple girl of low condition, sent some Franciscan friars to Domremy to obtain information respecting her life, manners, and reputation, with a view, no doubt, to the confirmation of the report of her reputed sorcery. All the testimony that they obtained, however, was favourable to the girl. That favourable evidence was suppressed in the Proces of her condemnation.

As soon as the town of Gergeau had yielded, they marched towards Meuny and Beaugency, above Orleans; many noblemen, to whom the fortunate progress of the French had been made known, gathered round the King, and upon the 15th of June, the Duke d'Alençon, and Prince Louis de Bourbon Vendôme, accompanied by la Pucelle, went to invest Beaugency, and on their way they seized upon the bridge of Meuny, which the English had fortified. From the commencement of the siege, the English had abandoned the town of Beaugency, and retired to the Château, which they had pro-

vided with every thing that could be necessary, both as to provisions and for war, for a long defence.

The High Constable of France, Artus de Bretagne, brother of the Duke of that name, went to the siege, accompanied by many noblemen, and between twelve to fifteen hundred men, whom they had raised at their own expense. The arrival of the High Constable disquieted the King, because his favourite, the Lord of Trèmouille, had set him against the Constable.

But La Hyre, Saintrailles, and some others were of opinion they ought to employ the mediation of la Pucelle with Charles VII. in order to reconcile him with the High Constable.

Accordingly, the King was made to understand of what consequence it was not to irritate that nobleman. He consented to a reconciliation, in spite of the indisposition of Trèmouille; who, however, dared not make any opposition to it. Scarcely did the English find themselves besieged in the Château, both from the side of Sologne as well as from that of La Beauce, than they desired to capitulate.

The same night that this capitulation was carried into effect, Talbot, accompanied by some English generals, brought from Paris four thousand men of their best troops, to succour Gergeau; but as it had been surrendered they directed their march towards Beaugency; and they afterwards marched to Janville en Beauce, where they had erected some slight fortifications. Upon which the Duke d'Alen-

çon and Comte de Dunois consulted with the Pucelle as to what course was best to follow, she made answer, "*Bons eperons, bons eperons.*" What, said they, ought we to fly? No, replied she, it is the English who will fly, and in order to catch them we shall require good spurs, but whatever they do they must be attacked—"*il les faut combattre, seroient ils pendus aux nues, et le gentil Dauphin aura aujourd'hui la plus grand victoire, et qu'il se eut picca, c'est a dire de long tems, et m'a dit ma Conseil qu'il sont tous notres.*" *

Not only did she assure them of victory, but that the French would lose very few of their people; which actually happened, as there was only one officer killed.†

The avant-couriers had constantly harassed the English, and had thus prevented them fortifying themselves, or from retiring into advantageous positions. The King's army by these means overtook hem, and pressed upon them in such a manner hat they were all put to the rout near Patay, five leagues north-west of Orleans. Having had as great a number killed as had been taken prisoners, they lost altogether more than four thousand men, either English or bad French, and the remainder were compelled to save themselves.

This action not only abated the courage of the

* Déposition du Duc d'Alençon.

† Déposition du 7 Mai, 1456, par Thibaut d'Armagnacon de Termes Bailly de Charites qui fut présent à la journée de Patay.

English, but it raised at the same time that of the French. The King at length arrived at Sully on the Loire, between Gien and Gergeau. The Duke d'Alençon came there accompanied by la Pucelle and all the gentlemen who were at the memorable day of Patais.*

While the Pucelle was with the army she accustomed the common soldiers, and, what was more difficult, their turbulent profligate leaders, to the usages of religion, and the restraints it imposes on men in all positions, even in the camp.

"Ce fut un spectacle risible et touchant," dit Michelet,† "de voir la conversion subite des vieux brigands armagnacs. Ils ne s'amendèrent pas à demi. La Hire n'osait plus jurer; la Pucelle eut compassion de la violence qu'il se faisait, elle lui permit de jurer: 'Par son bâton.' Les diables se trouvaient devenus tout à coup de petits saints."

* Du Fresnoy, Hist. de Jeanne d'Arc.

† Procès ms. de Révision, deposition de Dunois.—"Jeanne ordonna que tous se confessassent. . . . et leur fict oster leurs fillettes." *Mémoires concernant la Pucelle,* collection Petitot, VIII. 163.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITION TO RHEIMS—CORONATION OF CHARLES VII.—PART TAKEN IN THAT CEREMONIAL BY THE PUCELLE—SHE WISHES TO ABANDON ARMS TO RETURN TO HER HOME—QUESTION OF THE FULFILMENT OF HER MISSION—INTRIGUES AGAINST HER IN THE FRENCH COURT—HER FIRST REVERSE BEFORE THE WALLS OF PARIS—HER DEFEAT AND CAPTURE AT COMPIEGNE.

1429—1430.

THE expedition to Rheims was at length entered on. The King left Gien on the 19th of June, 1429, at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, and accompanied by three royal princes.

The Pucelle was always at the head of the troops with her banner, and obliged the army to make the longest possible marches. From Gien they marched towards Auxerre. The Pucelle and many of the Generals were of opinion, that the army being fresh, they should attempt the siege of that place, as the taking of it would intimidate the other towns, and would oblige them to surrender. But the inhabitants evaded this blow by giving two thousand crowns of gold to the Lord de la Trèmouille. The inhabitants then promised to furnish the entire army with provisions, and even with boats to

cross the river: and as traitors are never wanting for reasons, La Trèmouille gave the King to understand that this town being held by the Duke of Bourgogne, it was necessary by such management to soften them and to gain them over, and that in short this siege might retard his coronation. The King, who possessed weakness as an inheritance, took a pride in basely giving way to his favourite: they went then to Saint Florentin, which surrendered to the King. From thence they proceeded to Troyes, and took that town, where there was a garrison of 600 Bourguignons, who made a sortie, less with the view of attacking the French army than to reconnoitre. They were beaten, and constrained to regain the town quickly.

The town was invested for two or three days by the King's troops, during which time the army of the King suffered greatly from want of provisions; so much so that more than two thousand men could not get any bread to eat, and could with difficulty find any thing but beans for food. These beans had been sown by the advice of a Franciscan friar named Frère Richard, a celebrated preacher and zealous Bourguignon. Monstrelet speaks of him favourably, but he appears to have been badly informed. The town did not surrender. The French commanders held a council without calling in the Pucelle to advise with them. They were divided in their opinions.

Whilst Robert Masson on this occasion was still speaking, the heroine went to the door of the council

chamber, and knocked loudly, and addressing herself to the King, she said: "Gentil Dauphin, ne tenez plus de si longs conseils; mettez la main a l'œuvre, et commandez que l'on assiège cette ville: en mon Dieu je vous assure que dans trois jours vous y entrerez par amour ou par force, et que la Bourgogne se trouvera bien etonnée."

Upon which the Chancellor (Chartres Archbishop of Rheims), putting on an air of timidity and apparent apprehension, said: "Jeanne, we would willingly wait eight days, if we were assured that what you say would succeed." "N'en dontez point, dit elle d'un grand sang froid; que l'on me suive et mette la main à l'œuvre car Dieu veut que l'on s'emploie soi même."

The heroine possessed in an eminent degree the art of inspiring confidence, or overcoming opposition by acting on the spur of the moment in great emergencies, on the convictions she expressed, as if they were concurred in by those around her, who in reality were heartily inimical to her and her designs. After she had harangued the Chancellor, she mounted her horse and descended at once to the moat of the town, and commanded the soldiers to bring wood and faggots, hurdles and ladders for the assault. All the troops were immediately put in motion, and we are told, the old commanders were not a little surprised at the activity, and incommoded by the stirring energy of this girl warrior, who of herself alone, was able to effect more than those old

campaigners with all their military honours and the meed of former services.*

To this effect the Comte de Dunois deposed on the occasion of the revision of the Procès, about twenty-five years after the death of the Pucelle. She commanded the assault to be made on that side of the town of Troyes where now stands the gate of la Madelaine, and that of Comporté, we are told; but where very recently, I sought in vain for any traces of them or the walls in question.

The inhabitants of Troyes seized with fear and terror at the appearance of the heroine, abandoned the walls and rushed to the churches to implore the mercy of God. Jean Lesguisé, their bishop, a holy prelate, shewed them an example of patriotism, and endeavoured to induce them to submit to the King, their legitimate sovereign. This prelate, with the principal inhabitants on his side, besought the people and the troops to capitulate. The astute Franciscan friar, Frère Richard, was unwilling at first to accompany those who were appointed to treat with the French. He wished to remain in the town, but he thought it better to go with the others. When they came to the place where Jeanne d'Arc was stationed, the wily friar affected to be alarmed,

* Oh! for another Jeanne d'Arc before the walls of Sebastopol, when the ineptitude of the Lord-leaders of the British Army, the antiquated Peninsular War Generals and Major-Generals, was so fatally manifested, and so profoundly felt by the brave men who perished so miserably under their command!

he made the sign of the cross, and quickly sprinkled the ground between him and the Pucelle with holy water, as if he was performing an exorcism; while, in reality, he was performing an act he thought would be gratifying to his patron the Duc de Bourgogne. When Jeanne d'Arc perceived him taking those precautions against her as a sorceress, she smiled and said to him, "*Approchez hardiment, beau Père, je n'ai garde de m'envoler.*" From that time the Franciscan friar became an adherent, it is said, of the King's party, but the fact is questionable. There were several prisoners in the garrison of Troyes, whom the Bourguignon troops were anxious to carry away with them;* but the Pucelle opposed this proceeding, and persuaded the King to enter into arrangements for their deliverance.

Many other towns followed the example of that of Troyes; and as the happy turn in the affairs of the King was a general theme of joy and admiration, the courtiers praised the heroism of the Pucelle, declaring that they knew of nothing like her achievements in history; she replied to their encomiums with a modesty worthy of her character and of her piety: "*En nom de Dieu! mon Seigneur, a un Livre auquel pàs un clerc, tant soit-il parfait enclérica-ture, ne sauroit lire.*"

Jeanne d'Arc was never heard to attribute to herself the success of any of those marvellous achievements which marked her career. She took

* Vide Procès. Sixieme Séance du 13 Mars, 1431.

care always to refer the merit of her acts, and many of them were truly glorious, to the King of Heaven.

Charles VII., in the meantime, had repaired to Châlons. The Pucelle was diligent in urging on him the great necessity of not falling back into his habitual indolence. The news of the subjection of Troyes had reached him at Châlons. The inhabitants, conducted by Pierre de Latilly, their bishop, brought the keys of the city to the King. Charles took the same precaution in regard to them as he did at Troyes; after which he proceeded to Rheims.

The urgent importunities of the heroine to hasten on the movements of the King and his courtiers were greatly needed. Every day brought forth some new pretext for procrastination, or a discovery of some new grounds for fear. Jeanne continually importuned the King to dispel his fears; to advance; to remember he was in his own country; that the *Bourgeois* would come out to meet his Majesty, and that if he conducted himself courageously, he would soon make himself master of his entire kingdom.*

The Duke of Bourgogne had placed six hundred chosen men in Rheims for its safe keeping. The citizens at the King's approach held a council, and resolved upon submitting to Charles. They came to him with the keys of the town where he then was, at the Château Septseaux, a dependency of the

* Déposition de Sieur Charles Simon, Président en la Chambre des Comptes, autrefois Ambassadeur à Venice, du 7 Mai, 1456.

Bishop of Rheims, four leagues from the latter town.

The King arrived at Septseaux on Saturday, the 6th of July, 1429, accompanied by the Chancellor Renaud de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims, but who till then had never been in his own see since his elevation. The Pucelle was not less regarded with curiosity and admiration than the King himself. The father and eldest brother of the Pucelle, Pierre d'Arc, came to Rheims to see her; the King ordered them to be lodged by his harbingers, and the city of Rheims begged to have the gratification of defraying their expenses.

When we reflect on the accomplishment of this project of Jeanne d'Arc, on the difficulties which surrounded it; an army of 12,000 men, without a Commissariat, a Court without the means of support, arms without ammunition, a country to pass through harassed by enemies, or desolated by previous warfare, a march of seventy leagues to accomplish, and that journey made in nine days, including three that were spent in bringing the town of Troyes into subjection; it is difficult to exaggerate the power of those great energies of character which belonged to the projector of the expedition.

Sunday, the 7th of July, the King entered the city; and as the Pucelle urged on his coronation, they sent the Maréchaux de Boussac and de Retz with the Sieur de Graville and Admiral Coulant, to bring there the *Sainte Ampoulle* . . . The Bishop,

after the customary oaths had been gone through by the King, performed the solemn ceremony in the cathedral. The Pucelle was there in her bright armour, *gracieusement façonnè*, holding her banner close beside her sovereign. The coronation being finished, the *Sainte Ampoulle* was conducted back by the same Seigneurs who had accompanied it there. The Abbé Langlet du Fresnoy makes the following statement.

"When the Pucelle perceived after the ceremony of the coronation, that the King was about to retire, she threw herself at his feet, and said to him:

"Gentil Roi, je rends graces à Dieu qu'il lui a plu si heureusement, et en si peu de temps, accomplir ce qu'il m'avoit commandé de vous dire et assurer de sa part; savoir que nous etiez le seul vrai et légitime Roi de France; que je ferois lever le siège d'Orléans, et nous amenerois en toute sureté à Reims, malgré tous nos ennemis, pour y etre sacré et couronné, ainsi que vous avez été; et ne dontez point que ci-après, nos affaires ne prosperent toujours de bien en mieux, et que les choses que je vous ai prédites n'adviennent au temps que Dieu l'a ordonné. Voila m'a mission accompli."*

This account of her conviction that her mission was accomplished, as above recounted by Du Fresnoy, and several other biographers of the Pucelle, is at variance with the opinions of Mons. Quicherat.

* Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc. Par M. l'Abbé du Fresnoy, p. 59.

But I cannot help thinking the facts he has brought forward do not bear out those opinions to the extent he has pushed them.

By several of the biographers a conversation with Jeanne, of a remarkable kind, is said to have been held by the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Rheims; the conversation, in question, was held with her by Count Dunois, as Quicherat has clearly shewn: "*Savez-vous bien quand vous mourrez? Non, dit-elle, c'est quand il plaira à Dieu: mais je voudrois bien retourner à mes parens, et vivre avec eux en ma premiere condition champêtre; car les traces de la guerre m'ennuyent.*"*

"But neither the King (says Du Fresnoy) or the nobles would allow of her going, because she was necessary to them, as much to impart confidence to the soldiers as to inspire the enemy with terror, who could not endure her presence. And as she knew that her mission was ended, she no longer interfered in giving advice to the officers or generals in the operations of the war; but she submitted herself to the advice of others. She nevertheless always assured them of a happy success, and with a continuance of prosperity in the affairs of the King, as she had before promised him. She then contented herself with encouraging the soldiers."†

In the History of Jeanne d'Arc by the Abbé Barthelemy de Beauregard, we are told that shortly

* Même dépositions du Comte de Dunois.

† Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc. Par M. l'Abbé du Fresnoy, p. 61.

after Charles VII. was consecrated at Rheims, the Maid of Orleans was heard to exclaim, "Oh! that it might please God—I should now take my departure—abandon these arms and go and serve my father and mother — look after their flocks with my sister and my brother, who would greatly rejoice to see me." These wishes were not destined to be fulfilled.

As soon as the King was crowned, the Pucelle caused letters to be written to the Duke de Bourgogne, begging of him, on the part of the King of Heaven, to be reconciled to his sovereign, Charles VII., to whom he was united by ties of blood. She also assured him that Charles was the true and legitimate king of France, and that, in spite of all the English could do, he would remain in quiet possession of the kingdom, and that the English would be driven, not only from Paris, but from the whole of France; which part of the prediction, however, was not accomplished until after the death of la Pucelle.

Towards the 18th of July, the King was located at Veilly, four leagues below Soissons, where he received the keys of that city, which the inhabitants brought to him, although they had already submitted to the Bourguignons. Their example was imitated by the inhabitants of Laon, of the Chateau Thierri, Provins, and many other towns. They came from all parts, as much to see the heroine of Orleans, as to welcome and see the King.

Compiegne had submitted itself to the King, who

had gone there; he was received there with great honour. He appointed as Governor a gentleman from Picardy, named Guillaume Flavy, who was strongly suspected of having subsequently betrayed la Pucelle.

De Senlis also submitted. The King then proceeded to St. Denis, where the gates were thrown open to him. On September 3rd, 1429, the royal army advanced towards Paris.

The Duke d'Alençon, the Pucelle, the Comtes de Clermont, de Vendôme, and de Laval, with the Maréchaux de Boussac and de Retz, took up a position with a strong body of troops between Paris and St. Denis. On Sunday, September 4th, the King's troops made an attack in the direction of Porte St. Honoré to establish themselves, and raised some batteries. They then set fire to the gate above-mentioned, and chased the English from an entrenchment where they were posted. They made an attack also on some works at the Porte St. Denis, to prevent the garrison from making a sortie from that side of the city. The Pucelle had selected the moat of the boulevard between the two gates for the scene of her efforts, and there she caused preparations to be made for an assault at the very foot of the ramparts. At one period, she was seen directing the work with the utmost coolness in the midst of missiles and weapons of all kinds, hurled from the walls. She was heard, at another time, crying out to the soldiers in the trenches to bring faggots, wood,

hurdles, and ladders to mount to the assault. The Maréchal de Retz, accompanied by many other officers followed her; and notwithstanding the firing which was kept up continually by the Parisians, she did not let them remain long on the counterscarp, always crying aloud to the soldiers, "On—on to the assault." But at length, while she was thus urging on the assailants, she was struck down, severely wounded by a javelin which pierced her thigh. Yet, strange to say, from this wound she recovered in about five days. She remained wounded in the moat, with unabated courage, till night-fall, when the Duke d'Alençon sent to inquire after her, and to have her return to the camp. The forces of Charles VII. were too small and ill-provided to take a great city like Paris by storm, or to invest it effectually. They abandoned the ill-judged enterprise, and retired to St. Denis, where the first act of the heroine was to offer up her arms to God in the church of the Great Abbey, in recognition of his mercy, and in thanksgiving for having delivered her out of danger.

She wished to remain with the King's troops at St. Denis, but by the King's orders she repaired to the Court.

The 12th of September, the King left St. Denis; and as he had received intimation that the town of Lagny sur Marne would surrender, he went there, accompanied by the Pucelle. During the time she was there, the corpse of a still-born infant, we are told, was brought into the church. Some young

women of the town came there when the Pucelle was at her devotions, and begged the latter to join them in their prayers that God might restore the infant to life, in order that it might be baptized. Jeanne joined them in their prayers. Happily, after praying for some time, the infant yawned several times, made some movement, returned, it is stated, to its natural colour, and was baptized, but died very shortly after. On the trial of Jeanne d'Arc, her judges laid this alleged miracle to her charge as a claim to divine power.

She defended herself from this charge with her usual modesty and simplicity. She said, that which happened she attributed to the mercy of God, who had been pleased to hear the prayers which had been publicly made for the child's restoration.

The King determined upon undertaking two sieges about this time; that of Charité sur Loire, and of St. Pierre le Montier.

The army then proceeded to encamp near this latter place. The troops were repulsed, at the first attack they made, but the Pucelle who was present, and engaged in the combat, maintained her ground with a few attendants for a considerable time. When the French troops had nearly all retired, the Sieur Dolon, who was charged with the care of the Pucelle, ran to her and asked her why she did not retire: but lifting up her helmet, she replied, "that she was well assisted, and that she would never quit that post until the city was taken." She called

out to the attendants who had remained with her to bring her wood, hurdles, and ladders, and to proceed at once to the assault; those orders were executed. The soldiers in the meantime who had retreated, returned to the attack, struck with admiration at her resolution, and eventually the town was taken without much resistance. This is what the Sieur Dolon witnessed, and set forth in an official deposition. The King, being in Berry, commanded that a deed should be drawn up at Meuny in the month of December, of Letters patent, registered in the Accountant's Office, the 16th of January, 1430, by which the Pucelle was ennobled, with all her family, and gave them at the same time the name of Du Lys. This was the only act of grace or gratitude Jeanne d'Arc ever received at the hands of Charles VII. The towns of Sens and Melun soon after surrendered to the King. La Pucelle went at length to l'Isle de France with her small force. She observed to one of her companions in passing through Melun about the time of Easter, that she had had a presentiment, she would be taken prisoner, and delivered up to the English before the feast of St. John, in the year 1430.

The first signal reverse of fortune which the Pucelle sustained, was before the walls of Paris. She was compelled by the King's orders to cease the attack, at a moment when she declared that the enemy was about to yield.

Near St. Denis she wished to make an attack on the enemy by the right bank of the river, the King ordered a bridge to be broken down to prevent the execution of her project, and compelled her to follow the court beyond the Loire, notwithstanding her declaration that her visions admonished her to remain at St. Denis.

The first miscarriage of the Pucelle was eagerly laid hold of by her enemies at the Court, and then art was henceforward manifested in preventing her from retrieving that reverse. The Duke of Alençon was separated from her. She was discredited by the courtiers, restrained in her movements, and yet oppressed with honour, while compelled to sojourn in inactivity at the Court. But as she continued still urging the King to warlike measures, a sort of hypocritical deference was shewn to her, and she was allowed to make a small expedition, sterile of results, on the Upper Loire, where to the secret joy of the Court of Charles VII. she met with a second reverse. "I have not the courage," says Quicherat, "to sound the depth of the chagrins of this poor creature's high spirit during the eight months which ensued from the return from Paris. A chronicle which I have discovered and given to the public, gives us to understand how painful must have been her reflexions at this period, when he informs us that the Pucelle at this time made her escape from the Court." This important fact of her flight is overlooked, or rather was ignored by most

of her biographers before the researches of Quicherat had been made known to the public. The old chronicler above referred to, says: "La Pucelle qui avoit vu et entendu tout le fait et manière que le roi et son conseil tenoient pour le recouvrement de son royaume, elle, très-mal contente de ce, trouva manière de soi départir d'avec eux; et sans le su du roi ni prendre congé de lui, elle sit semblant d'aller en aucun ébat, en sans retourner s'en alla à la ville de Lagni-sur-Marne."* "Il ne faut pas se laisser tromper," dit Quicherat, "au ton si dégagé du vieil auteur, ni prendre pour un coup de tête ce qui fut le dénoûment tragique d'une cruelle péripétie. Jeanne, sans le roi perdait beaucoup d'elle-même; car le roi était la racine de son cœur, en même temps que l'expression vivante de son idée. Pour s'être décidée à une séparation d'éclat, il faut que la voix intérieure qui parlait en elle, ait dompté l'un après l'autre tous ses sentiments."†

When Jeanne set out for Lagny, she was aware that the enemy were about to besiege that place; Jean Faucaut and Ambrose de Lore commanded there on the part of the French. Those two officers, at the head of a detachment, attacked a troop of the Bourguignons, who were commanded by Franquet d'Arras, captain or partisan of a great reputation amongst the troops. The Bourguignons were beaten; Franquet was detained prisoner, and

* Perceval de Cagny, Proces, t. iv. p. 32.

† Quicherat, pp. 31—36.

at length he was executed at Lagny for the thefts, the highway robberies, and the depredations that he had committed contrary to the laws of war. This seizure drew upon la Pucelle all the hatred of the Bourguignons, as if she had been the cause, as also of the execution which followed it. The Bishop of Beauvais brought it forward as a crime against the Pucelle, her having caused that officer to be put to death, although she was not amongst the number of his judges. On the contrary, la Pucelle begged them to exchange this prisoner for some other of the King's party who might be in the hands of the enemy. But the proceedings against him it was not in her power to control, and the judges even remonstrated with Pucelle for interceding for so great a criminal, who had committed many unhuman murders.

The Duke of Burgundy, in the early part of 1430, having been called on by the Parisians who were almost surrounded by those towns which belonged to the King, resolved to undertake the siege of Compiègne. La Pucelle, who was informed of it, immediately went there. She entered it on the 24th of May, 1430, the eve of the Ascension. After having taken a little rest, she made a sudden sortie towards night, when she defended herself with great courage, after having frequently repulsed the enemy even to their camp; but, the alarm being given, they all took to arms, and the Pucelle was forced to retreat.

The sortie from Compiègne was made the same

day that Jeanne entered the town.* She appeared to have had no misgivings as to the success of her plans; her *voices* had given her no warning against this undertaking, but several times previously, and almost daily, they had predicted to her that she would be taken prisoner.†

The coup de main at Compiègne, resolved on by the Pucelle, was well planned, we are told by Quicherat. But, if the secret of her resolution had not been betrayed to the enemy, it ought not to have miscarried. She had determined on making the sortie at the close of the day. The troops of the Duke of Burgundy had a camp at Margny, and another at Clairoix. The quarters of the English were at Venette, where they had a redoubt or *boulevard* not far from the fosse of the besieged town. The plan of the Pucelle was to surprise Margny and Clairoix, and then to attack the Duke of Burgundy in the valley of Aronde on his coming to the assistance of his bands at Margny and Clairoix. "*She made no account of the English, having well concerted with Flavy, that they should not be able to cut off her retreat.*"

* "Respond qu'elle vint à heure secrète du matin, et entra en la ville sans ce que les ennemis le sceussent guères; et ce jour mesme, sur le soir, feit la saillie dont elle fut prinse." *Procès*, t. i. p. 114.

† "Lui fut dict par ses dictes voix qu'elle serait prinse..... par plusieurs fois et comme tous les jours..... mais ne lui dirent point l'heure, et s'elle l'eust sceu, elle n'y fust pas alée." T. i. p. 115.

Quicherat sees no occasion to make any comment on this part of the plan.

The action, we are told, began well. The garrison of Margny gave way instantly on being attacked. That of Clairoix coming to their assistance were repulsed, and, in their turn, repulsed their assailants. Three times the same efforts were made, and the same results took place without any definitive issue. This gave time to the English to approach, and all the well concerted measures taken with Flavy proved utterly abortive. The French, under the Pucelle, were seized with a sudden panic; they fled in all directions, a great number towards the town which they hoped to enter, pursued to the very gates by the English. And at this juncture Perceval de Cagny, a contemporary chronicler, narrates that the Governor Flavy ordered the gates to be shut.

Quicherat says this was essential to the safety of the town. But he makes no more account of the safety of the Pucelle than the poor Maiden herself did of the English, when she put her trust in Flavy's promises to keep them in check during the sortie. Jeanne, in the meantime, remained in the plain where the action had commenced, with no other troops but the few soldiers who usually formed her body-guard. The finalé is best told in the words of Quicherat:

* "Elle combattait dans ce même état d'exalta-

* "La capitaine de la place véant la grant multitude de Bourguignons et Engloiz prestz d'entrer sur son pont, pour la crainte qu'il avoit de la perte de sa place, fist lever le pont de la ville et fermer la porte." *Procès*, t. iv. p. 34.

tion qui lui avait fait croire, à Saint-Pierre-le-Moustier, qu'elle avait cinquante mille hommes avec elle, lorsqu'elle était seule au pied de la muraille.* Elle fit taire ceux qui l'avertissaient du, sauve qui peut, en disant son mot accoutumé : 'Allez avant, ils sont à nous.'† Mais ses gens prirent la bride de son cheval et la firent retourner de force du côté de Compiègne. La fatalité voulut qu'ils n'arrivassent qu'au moment où l'entrée du boulevard n'était plus accessible. Les Anglais occupaient déjà la tête de la chaussée, avisant de là les derniers coups à faire sur la prairie. La petite troupe de la Pucelle, toujours poursuivie, vint s'acculer sous leurs yeux dans l'angle formé par le flanc du boulevard et par le talus de la chaussée. Les Picards qui l'avaient amenée là, commencèrent à prendre ou à tuer tout ce qui leur faisait obstacle pour arriver jusqu'à la personne de Jeanne, sur laquelle, lorsqu'ils l'eurent démasquée, ils portèrent la main tous à la fois. Ne sachant auquel entendre de tant d'assaillants qui lui criaient : rendez-vous ! elle donna sa foi à celui qui la tirait le plus fort, qui était l'un des archers attachés à la lance du bâtard de Wandomme. Ce bâtard de Wandomme (et non de Vendôme, comme on à toujours dit) était lui-même un écuyer du

* "Il qui parle tira vers elle et luy demanda ce qu'elle faisoit à ainsi seule et pourquoy elle ne se retrahioit comme les autres. Laquelle.... lui respondit qu'elle n'estoit pas seule et que encore avoit—elle en sa compagnie cinquante mille de ses gens." *Déposition de d'Aulon*, t. iii. p. 218 † Perceval de Cagny.

pays d'Artois, lieutenant de Jean de Luxembourg."*

Quicherat acquits Flavy of the treachery which his contemporaries imputed to him of having been an accomplice of the enemies of the Pucelle, who composed the Court of Charles VII.; of having caused the gates of the town to be closed at the moment the fugitives of her party sought to enter, with a premeditated design of causing the capture of their leader. But Flavy, though a bad man was a brave soldier, and his defence of the town on that occasion, and his subsequent resistance, according to Quicherat, were worthy of his bravery; "sustaining, as he did, a siege of six months against the united forces of the English and the Duke of Burgundy."†

"The accounts of authors the most exact," adds Quicherat, "interpreted after a study of the places (referred to in them) do not authorise us to regard the capture of the Pucelle in any other light than that of one of the unfortunate vicissitudes of war."‡

Shortly before the sortie was made from the town of Compiegne, it is stated in an old chronicle (du Heraut Berri, Procés, t. iv. p. 49.), that Jeanne expressed some misgivings of her plans being defeated by treachery.§ And on the eve of her triumphal

* Quicherat Nouv. Aper. p. 89. † Ib. p. 84. ‡ Ib. p. 85.

§ "C'est vraisemblablement à un autre séjour de Jeanne que se rapporte le fait raconté par les deux vieillards. Un mois avant, lorsque Compiègne n'était pas encore assiégé, elle y était venue, se proposant d'arrêter les Bourguignons qui s'avançaient de Noyon

entry into Rheims, she disclosed to her parents (says Quicherat) and some of her townspeople, who had come from Chalons to see her, her fears of treachery, and we have to seek for those,* at whose hands it was apprehended, among the persons by whom Charles VII. was surrounded.

The ministers who formed the council of Charles VII., and who governed him, while he imagined he governed them, were Count Georges de la Trèmouille, Regnauld de Chartres, archbishop of Rheims, Robert Lemaçon, and Raoul de Gaucourt.

There are a great many conjectures, all of an unfavourable character, to the disposition of the Count de Trèmouille towards Jeanne d'Arc. But as far as I have been able to ascertain, there is not a single statement of an authentic kind which affords a direct proof of treachery on his part to Jeanne d'Arc. Not so, however, with the Archbishop of Rheims, the Lord High Chancellor, who followed the Court, and lived in it during the whole period of the mission of Jeanne d'Arc.

"The treachery of La Trèmouille," says Qui-

vers le confluent de l'Aisne et de l'Oise. Son plan d'attaque manqua par la trahison du capitaine de Soissons; elle rentra tout affligée à Compiègne, et c'est alors qu'il est supposable qu'elle se plaignit au peuple et qu'elle lui fit part de ses pressentiments." Quicherat. Aper. Nouv. p. 80.

* "Vidit eam Catalaunis cum quatuor dictæ villæ de Dompno-Remigio, et dicebat quod non timebat nisi proditionem." *Déposition de Gérardin d'Epinal*, t. ii. p. 421. Procès, t. iv. p. 323.

cherat, "was an elaborate work, long and stealthily pursued, like the approaches of an enemy skilfully calculated in the direction of an important point, which it was necessary to carry. His stratagems to lead the Pucelle to a wrong step were the first part of his plans. Public confidence in her once shaken the *denouement* consisted in making it manifest that this creature was no longer serviceable to the King."*

Quicherat imagines he has discovered in certain acts of Regnaud de Chartres, the archbishop of Rheims, the colleague of Trèmouille in the Court of Charles VII. the means of accomplishing his object.

There are strong grounds for believing that the prime mover in the intrigues of the Court of Charles VII. against the Pucelle was the Archbishop.

"Du temps de Louis XIII." dit Quicherat, "il y avait aux archives de l'hôtel de ville de Reims l'original d'une lettre de Regnauld de Chartres qui n'existe plus aujourd'hui, mais dont le greffier de l'échevinage de ce temps-là nous a laissé l'analyse. Ce document n'a été encore ni employé, ni soumis à la critique.

"L'objet du chancelier est d'annoncer aux habitants de Reims la prise de Jeanne devant Compiègne, mais de façon que leur deuil en soit léger. Il rapporte d'abord le fait brièvement, sèchement; puis il s'en prend tout de suite à la victime: 'elle

* Nouv. Aper. p. 91.

ne voulait croire conseil, ains faisait tout à son plaisir.' La perte d'une telle orgueilleuse est-elle bien à regretter ?"

Quicherat adds, that the credulity of the King was imposed on by the writer of this letter, or some confederate of his, as he thinks, Trèmouille, who had a certain shepherd named William brought to the King, who professed to be divinely inspired;—*qui dit ni plus ni moins qu'avait fait Jean d'Arc*, and said that he came by the command of God to accompany the King's troops, and overcome without fail the English and the Bourguignons.

"Regnauld de Chartres insinue qu'on a dit au berger que les Anglais avaient fait mourir la Pucelle, et qu'il a répondu que 'tant plus leur en mescherrait.' Après cette dernière précaution prise contre les restes de l'affection populaire, il n'y a plus qu'à donner le coup de grâce. L'auteur de la lettre fait faire cela par le berger, en lui mettant dans la bouche que 'Dieu avait souffert prendre la Pucelle parce qu'elle s'était constituée en orgueil, et pour les riches habits qu'elle avait pris, et qu'elle avait fait sa volontè au lieu de faire la volontè de dieu."

"Tout cela (dit Quicherat) me parait d'un suite parfaite, d'un art qui ne laisse rien à desirer et me fait conclure que le complot montè contre la Pucelle eut pour derniere trame de lui susciter un remplacant. Le sujet choisi pour ce role nous est a peine connu. Quelques mots des chroniqueurs

autorisent à le regarder commo un idiot visionnaire.* Il est constant que Regnauld de Chartres le reçut comme un messie, le garda auprès de lui à Beauvais, et de là lui fit faire, deux mois après la mort de la Pucelle, une expédition où le malheureux trouva dès le début la fin de ses exploits. Les Anglais le prirent, et sans forme de procès le jettoient en la rievere dans un sac."†

Jeanne d'Arc seems to have been aware of the hostile feelings of the Archbishop towards her, for on two occasions, on the 2nd and the 9th of May, during the Proces, the Bishop of Beauvais offered the accused to have recourse to the testimony of the Archbishop of Rheims in her behalf, and finally the mediation of some clergy of her party and the Church even of Poictiers. But she eluded the offer, which, it is said, she considered insidious, by an equivocal reply, which was tantamount to a refusal.

" Interroguée se du signe baillé au roy, elle se veult rapporter à l'arcevesque de Rains, au sire de Boussac, Charles de Bourbon, La Trèmoulle et

* " Ung meschant garson Guillaume le bergier, qui faisoit les gens ydolastres en lui, et chevaulchoit de costé, et monstroit de fois en aultre ses mains et pieds et son costé, et estoient tachez de sang, comme sainct François." *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, ad ann. 1431. " Ung que François nommoient Pastourel, et le vouloient exauchier en renommée comme et par telle manière que par avant avoit esté Jehanne la Pucelle." Monstrelet. " Ung jeune enfant, bergier tout sot, soy disant envoyé de Dieu." Martial d'Auvergne, *Vigiles de Charles VII.* Voy. *Procès*, t. v. p. 169.

† Nouv. Aper. p. 94.

Lahire, respond: Baillez ung messagier et je leur escriray de tout ce procès. Et autrement ne s'y est voulu croire ne rapporter à culx."* "Du signe de la couronne qu'elle dit avoir esté baillé à l'arcevesque de Reins, interroguée s'elle se veut rapporter à luy, respond: Faictes le y venir et que je l'oe parler, et puis je vous respondray, ne il n'oseroit dire le contraire de ce que je vous en ay dit."†

"Regnauld de Chartres," observes Quicherat, "was the first functionary in the kingdom in the judicial and ecclesiastical department, as High Chancellor and Archbishop of Rheims. He it was, at the outset of the career of the Pucelle, who, as organ of the Commission appointed by the King to examine the Pucelle at Poictiers, had pronounced in favour of her claims to inspiration; and yet who, during her trial and after her condemnation, took no step whatever in her behalf, although, in his position as Archbishop of Rheims and Metropolitan of the Bishop of Beauvais, it was in his power to have interfered; and if it be alleged, some repugnance might have been felt by the French government to intervene in a matter which was in the hands of an inimical power, why did he not use his influence at the Court of Rome in favour of the accused, or cause some obstacles to be put in the way of those proceedings which had been announced seven months before they were initiated? There was abundance of time for the Archbishop's intervention, but it was not opportu-

* Tome i. p. 396. † Ibid. p. 401.

nity or power that was wanting, but the will to save the girl from the flames."

I find the following mention of this great dignitary of the French Church in the list of members who attended the Council of Constance, in L'Enfant's Histoire du Concile de Constance, tome ii. page 371:

"Renaud de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims, with thirty-six persons. He is called *Cardinal de St. Etienne, in Cœlio Monte* dans La France Chretienne. It was he who crowned Charles VII. in 1429, the *Pucelle d'Orleans* bearing the standard in that ceremony. He was also *Grand Chancellier de France*, by which title he was addressed by the Council of Basle in 1432. He was appointed, in 1435, with the Duke of Bourbon, the Count of Vendome, and many other lords, spiritual and secular, to assist at the treaty of Arras. In 1439, he was created Cardinal by Eugenius IV. at the Council of Florence. He died in 1444."

Quicherat has fallen into some inconsistencies in his anxiety to make it appear that Jeanne never contemplated the limitation of her mission to the two great achievements performed by her—the raising of the siege of Orleans, and the conducting of the King to Rheims to have him crowned there.

The words which the chronicler attributes to the Pucelle, implying that her mission was regarded by her as then accomplished, according to Quicherat, are not to be relied on. He says, "They are an inter-

polation." But he makes no attempt to dispute the authenticity of the account given of this conversation by the Count Dunois, and therein it is expressly stated that Jeanne said, "she wished it pleased God her Creator to let her depart from that hour, and put away those arms, to go back to serve her father and mother, to keep their sheep with her sister and brothers, who would be so rejoiced to see her."

What can be more express than those words, or more indicative of the sentiment which had evidently *then* got dominion over her mind; namely, that she had accomplished all things for the King and for her country which were destined to be performed by her. She had beaten down the prestige of the enemies of France before the walls of Orleans, and they had never recovered their former power or influence over any portion of France again. She had settled the doubtful question of the legitimacy of Charles VII. and of the valid nature of the treaty of Troyes, by which the French crown was transferred to an English sovereign, by that most daring and sagacious of all her exploits, the expedition to Rheims, through a country overrun with enemies, with all its important strongholds in their possession, namely—by the coronation of the King there. It is, therefore, an absurdity to speak of the mission of Jeanne d'Arc either as an utter failure or as being only half accomplished. When her mission commenced, Charles VII. having in vain solicited

aid from the Spanish sovereign, having lost various battles, having had his army of Scotch mercenaries destroyed, having deliberated whether he would abandon France and seek an asylum in Italy or Scotland, was on the verge of ruin. When her mission ended, the "Gentil Dauphin" was a triumphant sovereign, he had an army full of confidence, and the enemies they had to encounter were dispirited and degraded in their own eyes by those signal defeats which they had suffered at the hands of a girl of eighteen. And within a period of twenty years after her death, the work of that victorious girl was consummated, the English were expelled from France: of all their possessions in that country, one fortress alone remained in their hands on the sea coast.

In 1450, the French were in possession of all Normandy; and in the following year, the whole province of Guienne, which had been united to the English crown, was recovered by the French. Calais, which was captured by the English in 1317, alone remained in their possession. So that, in nineteen years, in fact, from the time of the death of Jeanne d'Arc, the English were driven from the whole of their possessions in France, with the exception of a single fortress. Her prediction, then, to Charles VII. may be said to have been virtually accomplished.

In one of the chronicles of a later date than that of the Procès of justification, for its pre-eminence entitled "La Chronique de la Pucelle," it is related

that on the journey of Jeanne d'Arc from Chateau Thierry to Compiegne, accompanied by Count Dunois, (le Batard d'Orleans), who rode by her side, the latter asked the Pucelle if she knew when she would die; and the Pucelle answered that she knew not, but she resigned herself to the will of God, ending with the following words:

"J'ai accomplice que Messire me avait commandé, qui était lever le siége d'Orléans et faire sacrer le roi. Je voudrais qu'il lui plût me faire ramener à mon père et à ma mère, afin que je gardasse mes brebis et mon bétail, et fisse ce que je soulais faire."

Dunois, however, in his deposition on the occasion of the Procès of justification, about twenty-five years after the death of Jeanne, states, that he asked the Pucelle in what place she thought she would die, and she replied: "Ou il plaira à Dieu; car du temps et du lieu je n'en suis pas plus assurée que vous. Je voudrais qu'il plût à Dieu, mon créateur, de me laisser partir à cette heure et délaisser les armes pour aller servir mon père et ma mère et garder leurs brebis avec ma sœur et mes frères qui seraient si joyeux de me voir."*

So it is evident either the words of Dunois were altered by the chronicler, or they were quoted by him from some other document, and not from the deposition.

The modern biographers, however, who adopted the report of this conversation as given by the

* Depos. de Dunois, Proces, tome iii. p. 14.

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chronicler, have misinterpreted the passage, "*Je voudrais qu'il lui plut,*" referring the pronoun *lui* to the King instead of applying it to God : for it is of *Messire* (as God was spoken of by her,) who had commanded her to raise the siege of Orleans, she spoke, when she expressed the wish "that it had pleased *him* to bring her back to her father and her mother, so that she might take care of her sheep, and do those things she was accustomed to do."

The 2nd of May, 1431, we are told by Quicherat, that is twenty-eight days before her death, when admonished for her obstinacy in regard to the male attire which she had resumed, she said :

"Quand j'aurai fait ce pour quoi, je suis envoyée de par Dieu, je prendrai habit de femme."*

What do we find in this proceeding of Jeanne d'Arc, in resuming that male attire, which with such signal perfidy had been placed within the prisoner's reach in her dungeon, but a proof that the sufferings and vexations she experienced before her judges, and in her prison, had caused a sudden hallucination of her mental faculties, and impelled her to that act of wilfulness and folly, which, however harmless in itself, was fraught with such imminent peril to her, and which was the immediate pretext for putting her to death. But in regard to her mission, the Duke d'Alençon, her intimate friend and confidant, deposed, says Quicherat, that "she had spoken to him several times of the objects she had

* Procès, t. i. p. 394.

in view, and these were four;—to deliver Orleans, to have the King crowned at Rheims, to expel the English, and to withdraw the Duke of Orleans out of their hands."*

A theologian of the name of Seguin deposed, in 1456, as we find in the Procès of vindication, that the Pucelle had declared to him, and some other persons of Poictiers, that four things would be accomplished; all of which afterwards came to pass, and the deponent had seen them fulfilled:

1. The defeat of the English,
2. The raising of the siege of Orleans,
3. Paris restored to the obedience of the King,
4. And the return of the Duke of Orleans from England, where he had been a prisoner of war:

"Quæ omnia ipse loquens vidit compleri."†

It is therefore with regret one reads such a passage as the following, in a work of vast merit and research like that of Quicherat: "Elle (Jeanne d'Arc) n'accomplit qu'a moitié la mission dont elle se croyait investie d'en haut."

In proof of this assertion he cites several passages from her responses, as recorded in the Procès, which prove nothing, in fact, except that at various times posterior to the coronation at Rheims, she acted as she had previously done; but there is no proof what-

* "Dicebat se habere quatuor onera, videlicet: fugare Anglicos; de faciendo regem coronari Remis; de liberando ducem Aurelianum a manibus Anglicorum, et de levando obsidionem positam per Anglicos ante villam Aurelianensem." *Procès*, t. iii. p. 99.

† Depos de F. Seguin, Procès.

ever that the wish expressed to Dunois of being permitted to abandon her military life, and to return to her home, was not the expression of a profound conviction that her mission had been accomplished.

The act of accusation of the Pucelle, Le requisitoire, specifying the charges against her, announces three objects only being professed by the prisoner, as connected with her mission. When she was tormented by her judges with repeated questions on this subject, an admission was made by her, that she had three objects in view; the 1st to raise the siege of Orleans, the 2nd to cause the King to be crowned, the 3rd to vindicate him in the face of his enemies, *or* to expel the latter from France, whether English or Burgundians.*

* "Dicta Johanna dicens. . . sibi ex parte Dei revelatum fuisse quod levaret obsidionem Aurelianensem, et quod faceret coronari Karolum, quem dicit regem suum, et expelleret omnes adversarios suos a regno Franciæ." *Art.* x. *du réquisitoire*, Procès, t. i. p. 216. "Quum dicta Johanna devenit ad præsentiam dicti Karoli, . . . inter alia, tria sibi promisit; primum quod levaret obsidionem Aurelianensem; secundum quod faceret eum coronari Remis, et tertium quod vindicaret eum de suis adversariis, eosque omnes sua arte aut interficeret, aut expelleret de hoc regno, tam Anglicos quam Burgundos. Et de istis promissis pluries et in pluribus locis publice dicta Johanna se jactavit." *Art.* xvii. *ibid.*, p. 232. Le fait relatif au duc d'Orléans est confondu dans l'art. xxxiii, avec les autres qu'on impute à Jeanne comme preuve de sa témérité à prédire l'avenir.

Le 21 juin 1429, au moment où le roi part pour Reims, Perceval de Boulainvilliers, sénéchal du Berri, écrit au duc de Milan, au sujet de Jeanne d'Arc: *Dicit Anglicos nullum habere jus in Francia, et dicit se missam a Deo ut illos inde expellat.*—Procès, t. v. p. 120.

Surely the objects of the mission she declared was given to her were effected by her. But when her judges pressed her for further explanation in regard to these objects, which she said God had commanded her to accomplish, she answered: "Quelle etait venue de par Dieu annoncer au roi que notre Seigneur lui rendrait son royaume de France, le ferait Couronner a Rheims et reduirait jusqu'au dernier tous ses ennemis."*

In her letter to the chiefs of the English army before Orleans, reported in the Procès, she proclaimed the great object of her mission in a few emphatic words: "Je suis ici envoyée de par Dieu le Roi du Ciel, pour vous bouter hors de toute France."†

There is every reason to believe the invaders never would have been cast out, had it not been for the ruin which the Pucelle had brought on them.

* Procès, t. i. p. 232. † Ib. p. 241.

CHAPTER V.

IMPRISONMENT OF THE PUCELLE—THE POSSESSION OF THE PRISONER PURCHASED FROM JEAN OF LUXEMBOURG—PROCEEDINGS OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD IN RELATION TO HER—JEANNE CLAIMED AS A PRISONER BY THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER—CAPTIVITY IN THE FORTRESS OF BEAUREVOIR—THROWS HERSELF FROM A HIGH TOWER, AND IS RECAPTURED—INTERVENTION OF THE INQUISITION IN THIS CASE—CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS INITIATED—CHARACTER OF HER PRINCIPAL ADVERSARIES AMONG HER JUDGES—FIRST PHASE OF THE PROCES.

1430—1431.

AT six o'clock in the evening of the 24th of May, 1430, Jeanne d'Arc was taken prisoner close to the gates of Compiegne, in view of the garrison of the besieged town. She had left only about an hour previously.

This capture of the Pucelle caused as much joy to the English forces in France, and to the army of the Duke de Bourgogne, as it did grief to the inhabitants of Compiegne, who had reckoned upon her succour.

In Paris the exultation of the authorities was evinced by salvos of artillery, and religious solemnities. A "Te Deum" was sung in the church of Notre Dame. Sermons were preached to order, and the

preachers did not fail to announce that the sorceress Jeanne d'Arc, was by God's especial mercy to France placed in the power of those whose cause was identified with that of religion. "Le Batard de Vendome," into whose hands the captive had fallen, had delivered her into the custody of the Sieur de Luxembourg, general of the army. The Duke de Bourgogne had the curiosity to go and see her, and Monstrelet assures us that he was himself present at that interview. She was conducted shortly after to the Château de Beaulieu, from whence she attempted to escape.

She was then removed to the Château de Crotoy; the town of which name was then a sea-port, but has ceased to be so. The Pucelle was detained there four months. From that fortress she was taken to the Château of Beaurevoir in Artois, which belonged to the Sieur de Luxembourg. . . . During the time of the Pucelle's sojourn in the Château of Beaurevoir, they frequently told her, that Compiegne being reduced to the greatest extremities, the inhabitants were about to capitulate; and that the sufferings of the people were unparalleled.

These accounts made such a profound impression on the Pucelle, that she at length resolved upon attempting her escape by throwing herself from the tower in which she was confined, and going to the assistance of the unfortunate people of Compiegne. This attempt had nearly proved fatal to her.

Monsieur Quicherat, in his latest volume, "Apercus

Nouveaux," observes that—"Jeanne d'Arc had been several months a captive in the fortress of Beaurevoir in Normandy when she was made acquainted with the negociations which the English were carrying on for her extradition: and with the fact also that Compiegne which was still besieged, began to lose courage. The idea then came into her mind of casting herself down from the tower in which she was imprisoned, in the expectation either of effecting her escape, with a view to the advantage of Compiegne, or of delivering herself even by death from the hands of the English."

In this attempt to escape, the chances were more of death, than of life and safety. "The voices" of St. Catherine and St. Marguerite made themselves heard by her in reprehension of this rash project. But the heavenly voices were powerless against this temptation.

She cast herself down from the summit of the high tower of the fortress of Beaurevoir.

She was not killed, but neither was she saved from captivity. Her disobedience (to the inspirations of her spiritual visitants) caused her lively regret when she came to think calmly on the matter; she asked pardon *à ses voix*, and pardon was accorded to her.*

* When questioned by her judges on the subject of her attempted escape, and her motives for throwing herself from the tower:—"Dit, quant elle sceut les Anglos venir, elle fut moult courroucée, et toutesfois ses voix lui defendirent plusieurs fois qu'elle ne saillist; et enfin, pour la doubte des Anglois, sailli, et se commanda à Dieu

The height of that tower, from the summit of which she threw herself to the ground, on which she was found by some of the soldiers of the fortress in a state of insensibility, was from 60 to 70 feet at the least, we are informed by Quicherat.

"La hauteur d'où se précipita la pauvre captive était considérable. L'acte d'accusation dit *a summitate unius turris altæ.* Le texte français des interrogatoires, sans déterminer cette hauteur, la précise pourtant davantage en nous apprenant que

et à Notre-Dame... Interrogée s'elle dit point qu'elle aimast mieulx à mourir que d'estre en la main des Anglois; respond qu'elle aimeroit mieux rendre l'âme à Dieu que d'estre en la main des Anglois." *Interrogatoire du* 3 *mars*, t. 1, p. 110. "Interrogée quelle fut la cause pour quoy elle saillit de la tour de Beaurevoir: respond qu'elle avoit ouï dire que ceulx de Compiegne devoient estre mis à feu et à sanc, et qu'elle aimoit mieulx mourir que vivre après une telle destruction de bonnes gens, et fut l'une des causes. L'autre qu'elle sceut qu'elle estoit vendue aux Anglois, et eust eu plus cher mourir que d'estre en la main des Anglois, ses adversaires. . . Interroguée se ce sault ce fut du conseil de ses voix, respond: Sainte Katherine lui disoit presque tous les jours qu'elle ne saillist point, et que Dieu lui aideroit, et mesme à ceulx de Compiègne, . . . et ladicte Jehanne respondoit: Vrayment, . . . j'aimasse mieulx mourir que d'estre mise en la main des Anglois. . . Interrogée, q'avant elle saillit, s'elle se cuidoit tuer, respond que non; mais en saillant se recommanda à Dieu, et cuidoit par le moyen de ce sault eschapper qu'elle ne fust livrée aux Anglois." *Interrogatoire du* 14 *mars*, ibid. p. 150, 151, 152.

"La dernière réponse ne me paraît pas infirmer les précédentes, eu égard surtout à ce que Jeanne, un peu après, refuse de s'en rapporter à une enquête sur certaines paroles de désespoir qui lui avaient echappé au moment de sa chute—'Je m'en rapporte a dieu et non à aultre, et à bon confession." Procès. Tome i. p. 266.

la tour etoit le donjon d'ou relevaient les seigneuries d'un vaste canton de la Picardie.

"Soixante à soixante-dix pieds sont la moindre elevation qu'on puisse supposer à un édifice de cette importance. Tout le monde crut la Pucelle morte après qu'elle eût accompli ce saut prodigieux. Cependant elle en fut quitte pour un évanouissement suivi de plusieurs jours de malaise, pendant lesquels il lui fut impossible de rien prendre. Elle n'avait reçu ni fracture ni contusion grave.*

"Comme une certaine maladie qui fait l'étonnement de la médecine, offre des cas pareils de chutes énormes accomplies sans lésion organique, on se demandera si d'autres symptomes ne décèleraient pas la préeence de cette maladie de Jeanne d'Arc."

In another passage Quicherat gives it plainly to be understood that no effort was made by the King or his ministers for the ransom of the captive.

"M. de l'Averdy, dans son célèbre mémoire, discute doctement la question de savoir si Charles VII.

* "Saillit et fut blésée ; et quant elle eust sailli, la voix saincte Katherine lui dit qu'elle fist bonne chère, *quod faceret bonum vultum*, et qu'elle geriroit," t. i. p. 110. L'interprétation de *fut blessée* se trouve à l'interrogatoire du 14 mars, p. 151, où il est dit: "Puis qu'elle fist chute, elle fut deux ou trois jours qu'elle ne vouloit mangier ; et mesmes aussi, pour ce sault, fut grevance tant qu'elle ne pouvoit ne boire ne mangier. Et toutesfois fut reconfortée de saincte Katherine qui luy dit qu'elle se confessast, etc., et adonc se print à revenir et à commencer à mangier, et fut tantost guérie, *fuitque statim sanata*." Ainsi la *blessure* dont elle voulait parler d'abord n'était que de la *grevance*.—Quicherat, Nouv. Aper. p. 57, 58,

fit tout ce qu'il devait faire pour tirer Jeanne prisonnière hors des mains des Anglais. Obligé de convenir qu'il n'y a vestige d'aucune démarche officielle, il s'en prend à des impossibilités tout à fait chimériques: ce qui est plaider les circonstances atténuantes de l'ingratitude: car ce roi n'était-il pas tenu même à l'impossible envers celle qui avait fait pour lui l'incroyable?"*

There is but a single instance recorded, and that one is very equivocal, of any feeling of affectionate interest or regard being at any time evinced by the King in his conduct towards the heroine.

"Tandis que toutes les pièces nous montrent Jeanne, ne respirant que pour son roi, l'aimant avec cette ardeur dont on n'aime que les choses de la religion, il ressort d'un témoignage unique que Charles VII., la voyant pleurer un jour, lui fit beaucoup de compliments et l'invita à se reposer, ne pouvant souffrir la peine qu'elle se donnait pour lui. Mais comme cette scène eut lieu à la veille du voyage de Reims, dans un moment où Jeanne usait de toute sa vertu pour le lui faire entreprendre et où, au contraire, il cherchait mille prétextes pour s'y dérober."†

During the remaining time of her captivity, it is said, she continued to pray that God might be pleased to grant her four things:

To be delivered from her sufferings as soon as possible; that France might be delivered from its

* Quicherat, Aper. Nouv. p. 22. † Ibid. p. 23.

enemies; that grace might be given to her to be constant and true to the inspirations of her spiritual counsellors; and that she might save her soul.

The whole period of the engagement of Jeanne d'Arc in the service of her unworthy sovereign was about fifteen months. She left Vaucouleurs in the month of February, 1429. The first remarkable exploit of hers was the raising of the siege of Orleans, which was accomplished the 8th of May following; after which she conducted the King to Rheims to be crowned there, which event took place the 7th of July the same year.

She assisted at the capture or capitulation of several towns and strong holds, in the interval between the consecration at Rheims and the fatal issue of the sortie at Compeigne, when she was taken prisoner, the 24th of May, on the eve of the Ascension, 1430. She remained in captivity a year, and was put to death the 30th of May, 1431, on the eve of Corpus Christi.*

Whilst she was in captivity she was treated at different periods with unnecessary rigour, and sometimes with barbarous cruelty. From the time of her last attempted escape she had constantly on her legs a thick iron chain, and at night another chain was fastened round her body. This fact has been attested in several depositions. She begged in vain to be taken to a prison of the ecclesiastical power, as she was to be judged by churchmen. In vain

* Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, par Du Fresnoy, p. 72.

she demanded frequently that she might not be judged by her enemies, or at least that they would add to them a certain number of indifferent judges; this was all refused her, as was also her appeal to the Pope.

Immediately after the capture of Jeanne d'Arc, the University of Paris, which was anxious to display its blind zeal for the English interest, wrote on the 27th of May, 1430, two letters, one to the Duke de Bourgogne, and the other to the Comte de Luxembourg, to induce them to bring the captive before the Inquisitors and the Bishop of Beauvais, whom the University authorities knew to be entirely devoted to the English party. There were rumours at that time that the partizans of the Pucelle wished to treat for her ransom; but if there were any such efforts made, which is very doubtful; it is certain they were insignificant as well as ineffectual. There was, however, a simple and natural way for the ministers of Charles to manifest a desire to save the heroine; it was to let the Bourguignon party and the English know that they would use towards their officers who were prisoners, the same rigour with which Jeanne d'Arc was treated. It might naturally be expected that King Charles, to whom she had rendered such service, did not deign to take the same step with regard to her, which had been taken by her in behalf of the herald whom she had sent to the English commanders at Orleans.

"The Bishop of Beauvais," says Du Fresnoy,

" of his own accord summoned, on the 14th of July, 1430, the Duke of Bourgogne and the Comte de Luxembourg to deliver up to him la Pucelle: but the latter, whose prisoner she was, looked upon her as the means of promoting his own pecuniary interests. They therefore entered into a negociation, and for the sum of ten thousand francs, which he received from the English, he meanly delivered the prisoner of war up to them about the beginning of November."

The University of Paris lost no time, and on the 21st of the same month, wrote to the King of England, whose subservient creature it was, setting forth the necessity of punishing condignly the prisoner. At length, upon the 3rd of January, 1431, the University expedited a commission to the Bishop of Beauvais, who had entered into communication with the Council, instructing him to take the necessary steps for initiating the Process against la Pucelle.

The Abbé du Fresnoy, says:—" When one sees in the Process the seventy articles which served as the basis for their conclusions as to the guilt of the accused, it is impossible to help thinking that there were at that time great villains, 'des grandes Scelerats,' amongst churchmen; and I am only surprised that the Pucelle (when under examination before such judges) should have answered with so much wisdom and restraint. It is then with reason that the Councils of Constance, of Basle and of Trent,

and those which followed them, applied themselves particularly in reforming the conduct of churchmen. They have not, however, altogether succeeded, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the superior ecclesiastics."*

Hume may be fairly considered as the exponent of enlightened public opinion in England in regard to Jeanne d'Arc and her achievements.

Hume, in the brief notice he has given of Jeanne d'Arc, shews very plainly that he had made himself well acquainted with her history; and, perhaps, there is no episode throughout his work which does more honour to his principles and his sentiments as indicative of a love of truth and justice than this epitome of her career, and especially that portion of it in which he notices her captivity and death.

"The Duke of Bedford," he observes, "fancied that by the captivity of that extraordinary woman who had blasted all his hopes, he should again recover all his successes over France; and, to push further the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a prosecution against her, which, whether it proceeded from vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonourable. There was no possible reason why Joan should not be regarded as a prisoner of war, and be entitled to all the courtesy and good usage which civilized nations practise towards enemies on these occasions. She had never in her

* Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, par M. l'Abbé du Fresnoy, p. 93.

military capacity forfeited by any act of treachery or cruelty her claim to that treatment; she was unstained by any civil crime, even the virtues and the decorum of her sex had ever been rightly observed by her: and though her appearing in war and leading armies to battle may seem an exception, she had thereby performed such signal service to her Prince, that she had abundantly compensated for this irregularity—and was on that account the more an object of praise and admiration. It was, therefore, necessary for the Duke of Bedford to interest religion in some way in the prosecution, and to cover under that cloak his violation of justice and humanity."*

And then he goes on to describe the part performed by "the Bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English interests," in the political drama of the prosecution that had been got up before an Ecclesiastical tribunal.

He tells us "the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies were not satisfied with the victory" of the first condemnation, a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water. A second condemnation was procured. She was ordered to be burned in the market-place of Rouen! "And the infamous sentence was accordingly executed."

And, with these memorable words, Hume concludes his notice of Jeanne d'Arc:

"*This admirable heroine, to whom the more gene-*

* Hume's History of England, ch. 20, vol. 3, p. 285.

*rous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was on pretence of heresy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by that dreadful punishment the signal services which she had rendered to her Prince and her native country."**

Beaufort, Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster,† figures in English history in an unmistakeable church *militant* position, he entered France at the head of a small army in 1429, Hume says, at the time that the Duke of Bedford was reduced to a most perilous situation by the successes of the French at Orleans, and the cooling down of the ardour at home for foreign conquests, "which was now extremely abated by time and reflection"—by reflection we are led to suppose on the folly and wickedness of that "ardour for foreign conquests;" but, as it turns out, by reflection of Parliament, on the danger of the further progress and expense of these foreign wars; on the great distresses of the Duke of Bedford, and the dispirited state of the troops under his command.‡

For we are told by Hume, at this period "Men enlisted slowly or soon deserted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England of the magic and sorcery and diabolical power of the Maid of Orleans."§

And at this juncture, the physical force Prince of the Church, of the two swords—with the *gladius*

* Hume, Ib. p. 289. † Malone.

‡ History of England by Hume. Ed. 1811, vol. 3, p. 283, ch. xx. reg. Henry VI., A.D. 1429. § Ib. p. 283.

Domini in one hand and the *gladius Martis* in the other—made his debut on the bloody stage of a devastated country over which the god of war hovered in exultation. "It happened," says Hume, "fortunately in this emergency that the Bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia on a crusade against the Hussites." He was "persuaded to lend these troops *to his nephew* during the present difficulties, and the Regent was thereby enabled to take the field and to oppose the French King, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris."*

This is a matter of no small moment in the history of Jeanne d'Arc. Several of her biographers have observed with what assiduity the laity, who were immediately interested in the downfall of Jeanne d'Arc, and first amongst them, the Duke of Bedford, kept their names out of all the proceedings against the heroine—the name, for instance, appearing therein only once, and then incidentally, of the Duke of Bedford—the Regent, who expected great things, as we are informed by Hume, "from an accident which put into his hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities."†

What necessity was there for the Duke of Bedford to thrust himself into the proceedings of an Ecclesiastical tribunal, in which he was well represented by his kinsman the Cardinal of Winchester? That tribunal had been packed for him and his purposes

* Hume, Ib. p. 283. † Ib. p. 284.

by the Bishop of Beauvais; and the Cardinal of the two swords, with as many strings to the bow of his influence in the Church and State, left nothing undone through his party in this tribunal to gain over the judges; to browbeat them when they were refractory; to bribe them with promises of preferment; to terrify them by imputations on their own faith, if they hesitated for a moment to carry out the views of the Regent: those, as it was presumed, which had been originally set forth in the manifestoes of the English sovereign addressed to Foreign courts, in relation to Jeanne d'Arc.

The Duke of Bedford was a man of great capacity and aptitude for affairs of state. He was a great Captain; so was Cæsar Borgia; so was Ziska; so was the Duke of Alva; so was the Friar Mina; so was every celebrated highway robber, brigand, and mercenary adventurer who has figured in modern history as the hero of the day, "the situation, or the scene" of his apparition.

On the occasion of the examination of the Pucelle, conducted by "*matronas*," at which the Duchess of Bedford is said to have been present, the noble duke—the brother of a king—the Regent of France figures in one of the depositions in the words of Quicherat, "faisant le rôle d'espion derriere un rideau."*

* "Deponit.... quod ipsa Johanna fuerat visitata per matronas... et quod dux Bethfordiæ erat in quodam loco secreto, ubi videbat eamdem Johannam visitari." *Déposition de G. Colles*, t. iii. p. 163.

But this statesman-prelate — a memorable example of the Divine retribution on the desecration of the sacred office of a minister of Christ, and a dignitary of his Church, by the contaminating influence of connection with a Court, and engagement in the turmoil of a State—was destined to wade through a tempestuous sea of Church and State political strife, and to go down to a dishonoured grave, loaded with the imputation of great crimes, and more than one of a murderous character.

Sixteen years had passed over since the Cardinal of Winchester had done all that was in his power to do, to bring Jeanne d'Arc to the stake; and again in 1447 we hear of his figuring in all the Court intrigues of the time; and of his own nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, being the victim of them, and as it would appear, his Duchess, daughter of Lord Cobham, the victim also of his diabolical machinations. The day is gone by for shrugging the shoulders, and shaking the head, and closing the eyes, and whispering insinuations prejudicial to the faith or morals of a man who comments on the treasons of state priests and ecclesiastical princes against God's sacred interests; on the high crimes and misdemeanors of courtier-prelates and warrior-bishops of past ages.

In 1447, we are told by Hume, the Earl of Suffolk —"probably with the approbation of the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, engaged in proposals of marriage on the part of the King, Henry VI.,

with Margaret of Anjou, which gained for the Cardinal and his party, an entire ascendancy over the new queen;" who fortified, (says Hume), by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the Duke of Gloucester. The Duchess of the latter Prince was accused of witchcraft, (the old weapon of the Cardinal in the case of Jeanne d'Arc), and it was pretended she had caused a waxen figure to be made, which she had melted, after the manner of magicians, before a slow fire, with a view of wasting away the vigour of his Majesty. The King, who was of an imbecile, timid, credulous character, caused the Duchess to be brought to trial, together with several of her acquaintances. She was condemned to do public penance, and to be perpetually imprisoned, and her supposed confederates were found guilty. The Cardinal had a long arm, and a retentive memory. He was offended at the public interest manifested on this occasion in the Duke of Gloucester. "These sentiments (says Hume), of the public, made the Cardinal of Winchester and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity might become dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend."*

The Duke accordingly was thrown into prison on a charge of treason, and soon after reported to have died suddenly in prison: "No one doubted," says Hume, "but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance

* Hume, Ib. vol. 3, p. 302.

of his enemies." . . And a little further on Hume adds: "The Cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him, as well as the Duke of Suffolk, and which it is said, in his last moments gave him more remorse than could naturally be expected from a man hardened during the course of a long life in falsehood, and in politics."*

So much for the career, and the close of it, of one of the judicial murderers of Jeanne d'Arc, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester.

Shakspeare seems to have taken particular pains to pourtray the most repulsive traits in the character of this imperious prelate, in the first part of Henry VI. In the 1st act, sc. the 1st, he introduces him wrangling with his nephew, the Duke of Gloucester.

The latter tells him:

"Name not religion, for thou lov'st the flesh;
And ne'er throughout the year to church thou goest,
Except it be to pray against thy foes."

In the 3rd scene of the same act, the Lord Bishop and his nephew are again at loggerheads; and Gloucester charges "Arrogant Winchester, that haughty prelate," with divers high crimes and misdemeanors, murder, and treason. Among the rest, he tells the "*peeled* priest,"

"I'll *canvass* thee in thy broad Cardinal's hat:
If thou proceed in this thy insolence."

* Hume, Ib., vol. 3, p. 303.

And then, after a little more blustering, he proceeds to violence on the bishop and the hat.

"Under my feet I stamp thy Cardinal's hat."*

In the 3rd act, sc. the 1st, the Duke of Gloucester thinks it incumbent on him to lecture his venerable uncle on his "audacious wickedness:"

"Thou art a most pernicious usurer,
Froward by Nature, enemy to Peace,
Lascivious, wanton, more than well beseem
A man of thy profession and degree."

There seems to have been historical grounds for the accusation in Shakspeare, of the Cardinal being "a most pernicious usurer."

In Oct. 1415, after the battle of Agincourt, King Henry V. had to pawn his crown and jewels to the Bishop of Winchester, to finish his conquests, for 100,000 marks;† and in 1421 the Bishop lent the King £20,000.

It has been shewn how Jeanne d'Arc was spoken of by England's first historian. Now let us see how she has been treated of by the World's first and best Dramatic Poet.

* It is not with an intention to call in question the originality of any saying, remarkable for its terseness and vigour, of a man of a superior mind like Lord Campbell, that this striking line is quoted. But curious coincidences do occur in relation to Cardinals' hats, and the natural lively propensity that judicial Peers feel in their feet, whenever their eyes happen to fall on those "chapeaux rouges" of Ecclesiastical Princes.

† Wade's British Chronology, p. 81.

In the first part of King Henry VI. Shakspeare introduces Jeanne d'Arc, beginning with her first appearance before her King, and her achievements at Orleans, and ending with her execution at Rouen. Such a mass of anachronisms, of distorted and displaced facts, and of false statements, all tending however to one object, to vilify the moral character of a person who had successfully opposed English arms, aims, and interests, in a foreign country, has seldom been put together, and brought upon the stage in any country.

The genius of Shakspeare, was never so much at fault, and never was so unfaithful to its own glorious instincts, and generous impulses, as in the use, most unworthy of its exalted nature, to which it was directed in this instance—namely, to foster the vilest prejudices, and to fix the foulest slanders on the character of a young and noble-minded woman, borne down by great injustice: a person of heroic qualities, of unsullied purity, and a mournful fate: one most deserving of sympathy, and well entitled to all the glory with which poetry could invest it.

The 3rd scene ushers in the Pucelle in communion with fiends, demanding their wonted aid against the English, and reminding them of former compacts.

"Where I was wont to feed you with my blood;"

And offering—

"to lop a member off—
In earnest of a further benefit."

Then assuring them, they may have her body, and when the devils hang their heads:

"Then take my soul: my body, soul and all,
Before that England give the French the foil."

When she is captured, the Duke of York addresses her:

"A goodly prize, fit for the devil's grace!"

And again,

"Fell banning hag! enchantress, hold thy tongue."

The Pucelle then curses Charles the Dauphin, and the Duke, and being interrupted, says:

"I, prithee, give me leave to curse awhile."

The 4th scene opens with the father of the Pucelle tenderly addressing her, and lamenting her condition, and Jeanne responding:

"Decrepit miser, base, ignoble wretch,
I am descended of a gentle blood."

Then the Duke of York observes:

"This argues what her life hath been—
Wicked and vile, and so her death concludes."

Finally, the father curses and reviles her:

"Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab,
O, burn her, burn her: hanging is too good."

And yet there is a single passage put in the mouth of the slandered heroine which would induce one to believe that Shakspeare was conscious of the purity he so industriously disparaged, and this

occurs where he adopts, though indirectly, one of the numerous fabrications of her enemies, namely, of her being the illegitimate daughter of a French Prince.

"First, let me tell you, whom you have condemned;
Not me begotten of a shepherd swain,
But issued from the progeny of kings:
Virtuous and holy: chosen from above,
By inspiration of celestial grace,
To work exceeding miracles on earth.
I never had to do with wicked spirits:
But you—that are polluted with your lusts,
Stained with the guiltless blood of innocents,
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices—
Because you want the grace that others have,
You judge it straight a thing impossible
To compass wonders, but by help of devils.
No, misconceived! Joan of Arc hath been
A virgin from her tender infancy,
Chaste and immaculate in very thought;
Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven."*

But no sooner has she pronounced those words, and is ordered off for execution, than she demands a reprieve on grounds utterly at variance with the professions she has just made:

"I am with child, ye bloody homicides."

And, first, she says the father is her sovereign, Charles; and in the next breath, the father is the Duke of Alençon; and then she acknowledges she

* Hen. VI. Part i. act v. sc. 4.

had deluded the Duke and the Earl of Warwick:

> "'Twas neither Charles, nor yet the Duke I named,
> But Reignier King of Naples that prevailed."

And having cursed the noble Duke, the Earl, and their country—"Exit Joan guarded."

And thus Shakspeare finished *his* Joan of Arc, having left nothing undone to make her memory of an ill odour in England.

On the 26th of May, 1430, says Qüicherat, two days after the capture of Jeanne d'Arc, the official (*greffier*) of the University of Paris, in the name, and under the seal of the Inquisitor of France, addressed a *sommation* to the Duke of Burgundy, demanding that the Pucelle should be placed in the hands of the Inquisition, "pour ester à droit et pour repondre au bon conseil, faveur et aide des bons docteurs et Maitre de l'Université de Paris."*

It is a common but erroneous opinion that the Inquisition never existed in France. There are sermons in stones that speak sufficiently of its existence in Avignon, and inscriptions on them too, which might supply the place of other records of its terrors in the 14th century. Some evidence of this fact will be found in the Appendix.

The captive Jeanne d'Arc was claimed by the University of Paris, for the tribunal of the Inquisition; the proceedings against her were professed to be

* Procès, t. iv. p. 458, ap. nouv. aper. p. 96.

in conformity with its jurisprudence, and the ecclesiastical laws of France. A judge of the Inquisition assisted at the trial.

"L'inquisiteur de la localité était un pauvre moine plein de timidité et de faiblesse. Il ne s'adjoignit qu'avec répugnance et par mandement spécial du grand inquisiteur de France."*

The judicial murder of Jeanne d'Arc, (the worst crime of a judicial kind on record) was committed at the instigation of the Duke of Bedford, bearing the title of Regent of France, and the Duke de Bourgogne, the brother-in-law of the latter, and ally of the English Sovereign, through the instrumentality of an Ecclesiastical tribunal.

The two principal performers in its iniquitous proceedings were, Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, who derived his inspirations from the camps of Bedford and Bourgogne, and the Cardinal Winchester, who was indebted for his inspirations to a higher source—to the Court of St. James.

Between the date of the first reclamation of the University to have Jeanne delivered up to its jurisdiction, and the initiation of the Procès, a period of seven months elapsed, in which time the face of things was altogether changed. The English Court (for it is an absurdity to speak of the English Government of that time) had secured the person of Jeanne, and without offending the susceptibilities of the Paris University, had devised a plan of conci-

* Quicherat, p. 102.

liating that body, while placing it in the predicament of incurring a vast deal of odium, by suffering it to carry into execution the prosecution of the prisoner.

"Les politiques Anglais," dit Quicherat, "qui sentaient que leur nation atterrée ne reprendrait courage que lorsque la Pucelle serait morte, qui l'avaient achetée pour s'en defaire, mais qui pourtant ne pouvaient, d'après les principes du siècle, livrer au supplice une personne de si grande chevalerie, ces politiques n'eurent garde d'imaginer mieux que le procès d'Eglise, puisqu'ils virent jour par là à obtenir la mort de leur ennemie, sans y co-opérer en apparence. Seulement, la passion extraordinaire avec laquelle ils souhaitaient cette mort, fit qu'ils jugèrent plus sûr d'avoir un homme à eux pour diriger la cause, que de s'en remettre aux sentiments hostiles, mais mobiles de tout un corps.

"Il se trouva que le point où Jeanne avait été prise était du diocèse de Beauvais; en second lieu, que le possesseur titulaire de l'évêché de Beauvais etait un Prelat refugie aupres des Anglais et totalment a leur devotion: enfin que ce meme Prelat exercait un grande autorité sur l'Universite de Paris, etant son protecteur en titre . . . Il revendiqua Jeanne comme sa justiciable, et murit a lui seul, la conduite du Procès, certain de ne rien entreprendre qui ne recut plus tard l'approbation de l'Universite."*

* Quicherat, Nouv. Aper. p. 98.

The 1st phase of the " Procès Expositio Causæ et Preparatoria," includes the examinations of the Pucelle, commencing the 9th January, 1431, and extending to the middle of March.*

The 2nd phase, " Processus Ordinarius," includes the proceedings beginning the16th of March, 1431, and ending in setting forth in seventy articles the crimes imputed to the Pucelle, and such portions of her replies to interrogatories as were supposed to substantiate the charges of her accusers and judges, and also the twelve articles of inculpation on which her condemnation was grounded.†

The Bishop of Beauvais, a bold bad man, astute as he was unscrupulous, was entrusted with the task of composing the court and directing its proceedings; in plain terms, of packing the tribunal, and making sure of its decision. The next in importance was an ecclesiastical dignitary of a higher position in the Church, one of its princes, a statesman-prelate, an obdurate, cold-hearted, crafty, and imperious churchman, the Cardinal of Winchester.

* *Vide* Procès, tome i. Quicherat.

† Quicherat observes, " Il nous reste quantité mémoires écrits par des théologiens du xv^e^ siècle qui prouvent que les assertions contenues dans ces douze articles sont contrariées par d'autres paroles sorties de la bouche de Jeanne.

" Les douze articles qui furent publiés comme resumant la doctrine religieuse de Jeanne, et qui amenèrent sa condamnation, auraient dû recevoir, d'après l'indication précise des assesseurs, un certain nombre de corrections dont aucune ne fut faite."—*Quicherat, Aper. Nouv.*

The tribunal was composed of prelates and dignitaries of the church of all grades; doctors of theology of great renown, distinguished members of religious orders, mitred abbots, and unbeneficed ecclesiastics devoted to the interests of the Bourguignons, some of them known to fame, who had figured in official duties at the Councils of Constance and Basle, but whose services were still to be rewarded with preferment; canonists, notaries apostolic, deans of faculty, members of the University of Paris, bachelors and masters of art, and some of the latter secular persons, familiar with all the forms of the Inquisition and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Four other prelates figured in this judicial performance of a tragic kind. They did nothing signal; they were automaton performers; they moved as they were pulled, and the savage instincts of the Bishop of Beauvais caused the wires to vibrate and communicate his orders.

The number of subordinate actors in the drama originally amounted to forty-six. In the course of the proceeding twelve more *personæ* were added, to play it out with more theological effect.

In round numbers there were sixty intelligences, and a great many of the highest order of intellect, fraught with learning, filled with scholastic knowledge, to whose uses all the arts and sciences that have to do with theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence were subject, were brought to bear on the mind of a peasant girl of nineteen years of age, who

could neither read nor write, whose education consisted of a knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria and the Creed. But it must not be forgotten her mother had also taught her to spin and to sew.

Neither can it ever be forgotten by those who read the report of those proceedings—the tribunal's own report of them—that this illiterate poor girl, who for sixteen days was subjected to the most perplexing examinations before this tribunal, had no counsel allowed her, to assist, to advise, or to defend her.*

Ah, good Bishop of Beauvais! and Lord Cardinal of Winchester, this was an unequal trial, such a combat only as we read of in the annals of Eusebius and Lactantius, when a single martyr was walked out of his dungeon, set in the arena, and was told to defend himself as best he could against several animals of great force and savage instincts.

In 1413, Cauchon, a turbulent, intriguing ecclesiastic, was banished from Paris for his excesses, as one of the faction "Cabochieri." He entered again, however, with the Duke of Burgundy, his patron and protector, and was elected Conservator of the Privi-

* "Ce fait qui nous paraît être d'une monstrueuse iniquité, avait sa justification dans la manière de procéder contre les hérétiques. J'ai déjà cité la décrétale qui dispense les juges inquisiteurs du *strepitus advocatorum*. Le *Directorium* d'Eymeric explique d'une manière plus positive que, l'avocat de l'hérétique n'ayant qu'à aider son client dans la recherche des témoins à charge dont on lui cachait les noms, si l'hérétique avouait, il était superflu de lui accorder un avocat."—*Quicherat, Nouv. Aper.* Pars iii. c. cxvii.

leges of the University.* A little later he figured at the Council of Constance, an opponent of Gerson, and a supporter of the atrocious doctrine of justification of assassination, for which Jean Petit was condemned in the Council for justifying the murder committed by the Duke of Burgundy in Paris. The influence of the Duke of Burgundy procured for him the mitre; he was created Bishop of Beauvais, but in 1429 he was chased out of his diocese by his own flock. If the protegé may be known by the patron, a low estimate may be formed of the character of Pierre Cauchon. "Philippe le Bon," Duc de Bourgogne, has left behind him, in his unfortunate country, many deep traces of his peculiar *goodness*, and some remarkable evidences of his *morality*.†

The English sovereign, in 1432, obtained for him the bishopric of Lisieux, which he governed till the time of his death.

* Michelet, Hist. de Erance. Art. Jeanne d'Arc.

† "Philippe le Bon," dit Michelet, "n'eut que seize bâtards, mais il n'eut pas moins de vingt-sept femmes, trois légitimes et vingt-quatre maitresses. Dans ces tristes années de 1429 et 1430, pendant cette tragédie de la Pucelle, il était tout entier à la joyeuse affaire de son troisième mariage. Cette fois, il épousait une infante de Portugal, Anglaise par sa mère, Philippa de Lancastre. Aussi les Anglais eurent beau lui donner le commandement de Paris, ils ne purent le retenir; il avait hâte de laisser ce pays de famine, de retourner en Flandre, d'y recevoir sa jeune épousée. Les actes, les cérémonies, les fêtes, célébrées, interrompues, reprises, remplirent des mois entiers. Le jour de son mariage (10 Janvier, 1430), Philippe le Bon institua l'ordre de la Toison d'or." —*Michelet, Hist. de France.*

Duboulai, in his ecclesiastical benevolence and Christian charity, calls the Bishop of Beauvais, "*homme magnifique et bienfaisant.*" Quicherat designates this prelate,* "L'ame damnèe des Princes de Lancaster;" and we learn, from the same writer, that the bishop died about eleven years after his victim, preparing his person for this world: "he died at his toilet in December, 1442."†

Three of the judges appointed by the Bishop of Beauvais, who were particularly instrumental to the condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, "les trois dont la participation au procès fut la plus fatale à l'accusèe,"‡ were the ecclesiastics Thomas de Courcelles, Nicole Midi, and Guillaume Erard.

Thomas de Courcelles is a remarkable example of a man of great talents and respectability in his sphere, in difficult circumstances and in bad times, brought into a dangerous and eminent position, without sufficient force of character, or resolute determination to be just and to fear God at all hazards of disadvantage to worldly interests, or of disfavour at the hands of bad men in high places. But Thomas de Courcelles became ashamed of the base part he had acted, after he had earned the reward of his subserviency to the views of the Bishop of Beauvais; after he had gained notoriety by his servile acquiescence in all the iniquitous proceedings instigated by that unworthy prelate; after he became

* Quicherat, Procès, tome i. † Ib.

‡ Quicherat, Aper. Nouv. p. 103.

"the light of the Council of Basle,"* "the father of the liberties of the Gallican Church," which "he dictated with consummate address, and a rare modesty and excellent judgment to that assembly," and had, what Quicherat calls, "the inconceivable art to effect their acceptance in Rome;" after he had gained a well-merited reputation for his modesty and disinterestedness, ambitioning no preferment beyond that of a simple Dean of the Chapter in Paris, which he retained during his life. The leading part he had taken in the prosecution of Jeanne d'Arc, the infamous proposal to subject the prisoner to torture, which only two other of her judges could be found to sanction, there is abundant evidence to be found in the later Procès of justification, he reflected on with shame, and it may be hoped with sorrow.

"Pierre Cauchon employa de préférence à tout autre," dit Quicherat, "ce jeune homme de bonne réputation et de grande espérance. Il usa envers lui d'une confiance que je ne puis croire absolue, mais qui alla certainement jusqu'à le limite extrême où la bonne foi se sépare de l'intrigue. L'ayant induit à faire de ces choses qui devaient, aux yeux du plus grand nombre, le couvrir entièrement, lui Cauchon, ou dans l'esprit des clairvoyants faire passer Courcelles pour son complice, il lui ôta tout moyen de décliner plus tard sa part de responsabi-

* Quicherat, Nouv. Aper. p. 105.

lité en faisant rédiger par lui-même l'acte authentique du procès.*

"Thomas de Courcelles fut interrogé pour la réhabilitation de Jeanne en 1456.† L'embarras qui règne dans toutes ses réponses est digne de pitié. Ce ne sont que réticences, hésitations, omissions; des circonstances qui devaient faire le tourment de sa mémoire, il ne se les rappelle pas; d'autres qu'il avait consignées dans sa rédaction, il les nie. Toute son étude est de donner à entendre qu'il a pris peu de part au procès. Mais cela n'est pas admissible. Il assista à presque toutes les Seances."

The task of rendering the interrogations put to the Pucelle, and the answers to them into Latin, and of *arranging* the whole materials of the process, and putting it into a regular judicial form, was assigned to Courcelles. He had the cowardice, as well as the cunning, in the *redaction* of the report of the *Procès*, to omit his own name among the signatures to proceedings which his conscience must have condemned in several important instances; and at the expiration of upwards of four centuries it remained for a literary inquirer to detect this base attempt, and to expose it.

This astute theologian, who lent all his talents and gave good service to the enemies of his King

* Déposition de Taquel, tome ii. p. 319; de Guillaume Manchou, tome iii. p. 135.

† Tome iii. p. 56.

and country, and contributed, as far as lay in his power, to bring the Maid of Orleans to the stake, was subsequently admitted to the friendship of her royal *patrons:* a fact that might indeed appear incredible, if aught that was base in human nature, and novel in its kind of baseness, being discovered in Charles VII. could excite surprise and startle credibility.

"Il donna son avis," dit Quicherat, "dans toutes les délibérations, travailla au réquisitoire, le lut, déposa contre Jeanne huit jours après sa mort, fut rétribué, au taux de vingt sous tournois par jour. Il redigea l'instrument du Procès, et n'eut pas le courage, dans cette reduction de laisser son nom partout ou il se trouvait consigné sur la minute."*

At the sitting of the tribunal on the 12th of May, a proposition was made that the prisoner should be subjected to the torture. Each of the judges, in giving his vote, said a few words as to the opinion held by him of its being good or advantageous, or the contrary, to apply the torture to the girl; and each vote, with such accompanying observations, is found duly recorded in the Procès, and to the credit of the tribunal be it told, only three votes are recorded in favour of torturing the girl, and these are of the following doctors in theology, Magister Albertus Morelli, Magister Loyselleur, and Magister Thomas de Courcelles. The vote of the latter is thus recorded:

* Quicherat, Nouv. Apercus, p. 107.

"Magister Thomas de Courcelles: dixit quod sibi videtur, bonum esse eam ponere in torturis."*

He was honoured with the friendship and esteem of the King, Charles, after the death of the heroine. The deep sense of obligation of Charles VII. to the enemies of the woman who gave her young blood in defence of his crown and kingdom, cannot be called in question. The brutal instincts of those kings and princes whom lords and ladies and great prelates and eminent divines, and all the sycophants of a court fawn on and cringe to, must surely have some strong vital principle of ingratitude, steadily animating, and permanently pervading them, their baseness is so uniform, universal, and consistent in its character. If any doubt remain of that fact on the mind of the reader, let him refer to the fate of Jacques Cœur at the hands of Charles VII.†

Erard was bound to the English court, by ties of gratitude for patronage and preferments in the church of Normandy. He was a doctor of theology in the parlance of unprincipled men of his own calling, in the nauseous slang of the adulatory bienseance of the time, and formulas of fulsome compliment, bandied about by people in soutans and scarlet gowns of universities, "Illustre Docteur;" and in the terms of the confessor of Charles VII. Gerard Machet (the reader will bear the fact in mind), "Vir clarissimæ virtutis et cœlestis sapientiæ."

* Procès (Quicherat), tome i. p. 403.

† *Vide* Appendix.

We need not travel far from the court and the ecclesiastics who surrounded Charles VII. for the treachery which brought Jeanne d'Arc to the stake. "After Jeanne," says Quicherat, "had perished by the acts of this man (Erard), rather than by those of any other person, Machet continued to treat him in this style." Moreover, his intimate relations with the English did not prevent the confessor of Charles VII. Machet, from keeping up relations of amity with this active partizan of the enemies of the King and his defender, Jeanne d'Arc, and eventually, when the latter was disposed of, to obtain for this Erard benefices in France.*

It is the fate of all persecutors to be made by contemporary historians to die suddenly, or by some shocking accident, or loathsome disease. The biographers of Jeanne d'Arc have largely exercised this retributive privilege in dealing with her enemies and her unjust judges. Nearly all of them are killed off in those biographies in the most summary manner, in their deaths most awful spectacles and frightful judgments are manifested. But the biographers need not be so impatient of retribution for enormous crimes, or apprehensive that the laws of God and justice may be violated with impunity by great culprits.

There is no retribution so sure and so terrible as the punishment of guilt that prospers in this world, that grows callous in prosperity, and by length of life and exemption from great trials, becomes insen-

* Quicherat, Nouv. Aper. p. 104.

sible to shame as well as remorse. The hard heart, and the seared conscience of long unpunished guilt, strong in its security, and proud of its prosperity or power, have the heavy hand of Divine Justice laid on them—and beyond that calamity, no chastisement can go.

Duboulai cuts off Erard in 1444.* Another writer destroys him by a revolting death.

Quicherat, however, finds the "Illustrious Doctor alive and well in 1453," *jouissant sous le gouvernement de Charles VII. de la cure de Saint Gervais à Paris.*

Nicole Midi was one of the most indefatigable of the tormentors of Jeanne d'Arc during the examinations on the trial, and one of the most wicked in perverting justice, by seeking to confound the reason, and to misinterpret the answers of a person on whom he sat in judgment. It was this man who preached before his brother bourreaux, and their unfortunate victim at the place of execution—perverting there, religion, as he had previously done justice; and mingling the name of God, and the words of Christ, and the inspirations of the Holy Ghost in his truculent sermon within a few paces of the stake, where his victim was standing, with slanders on the faith, and foul aspersions on the life, manners, and conversation of that innocent and pure creature.

He too was killed off prematurely, shortly after the Procès, by the leprosy, according to one of the witnesses, on the occasion of the proceedings in justifica-

* Historia Univ. Par. t. v. p. 442.

tion of the Pucelle. And yet he was one of the lights of the University of Paris, after the restoration of Charles VII.; and Quicherat informs us, on the occasion of the King making his entry into Paris, the person appropriately chosen by the University to harangue the *grateful* Sovereign on his happy recovery of that portion of his dominions, which the services of Jeanne d'Arc at Orleans had been mainly instrumental in leading to, was the Doctor Nicole Midi.* But then we are informed by the Abbe Langlet du Fresnoy: "Il y avoit alors de grands scelerats parmi les gens d'Eglise." And can the State afford no avowal, such as a minister of the church has the boldness to make in the fervour of his zeal for truth, and in the fulness of his confidence in the institution of his church, apart from the character of its ministry? Or is it from a fear of truth, or a sense of the insecurity of the foundations of thrones, or the fragility of the baubles of the sceptre and the crown, that they dare not admit? —*Il y avoit alors de grauds scelerats parmi les Princes et les gens de la Cour.*

It will be borne in mind, that one of the three members of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, who voted for putting the accused girl to the torture, was a doctor in theology, named Loyselleur.

A canon of Rouen, named Loyselleur, (probably the same individual as the doctor above mentioned,) was so forgetful of his sacred character, as to con-

* Duboulai, Hist. Univ. t. v. p. 445.

sent to play the part of a spy and a betrayer, and to introduce himself under a disguise to the prisoner. The mission entrusted to him was to deceive, and lead astray the prisoner by perfidious counsels. "This fact," says Quicherat, "is related with horror, by all those who speak of it in the Procès of Justification, and the wretch who charged himself with such a mission, died a little later of shame and remorse. However fatal his treachery may have been to the prisoner, I regret to say, that in point of form, his act had its excuse. It was sanctioned by a customary practice, even down to the latest times of the Inquisition, and which is to be found prescribed in the treatise on the proceedings against the Albigenses."

"Que nul n'approche l'hérétique, si ce n'est de temps à autre deux personnes fidèles et adroites qui l'avertissent avec précaution et comme si elles avaient compassion de lui, de se garantir de la mort en confessant ses erreurs, et qui lui promettent que, s'il le fait, il pourra échapper au supplice du feu; car la crainte de la mort et l'espoir de la vie amollissent quelquefois un cœur qu'on n'aurait pu attendrir autrement."*

"The Procès of the Pucelle," says Quicherat, "was conducted according to Inquisitorial law, which was an assemblage sufficiently confused of common law, of special decrees and practices, sanctioned only by the approval of Doctors of the Dominican

* Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum. Lugduni.

Order. Notwithstanding its recourse to Common law, *droit commun*, it departed altogether from its principles. For instance, the decretals in regard to heresy, left to the judges the liberty to proceed against criminals in a summary and direct way, without the noise of lawyers and judicial formalities, *simpliciter et de plano ; absque advocatorum strepitu et figura judicii.*"*

If the forms of law had been observed, Jeanne would have been detained during her trial in a prison of the Ecclesiastical power. She was, however, not only imprisoned, but tried in the *Chateau de Rouen*, guarded by the civil and military power. "The English government," says Quicherat, "feigning to have suffered the church to exercise the right of carrying on the proceedings against the Pucelle, stipulated, in an official form, that, while willing to allow her to be tried by the church, their claim to her was not abandoned, and in the event of the church declaring her innocent, the government would seize on her, and hold her amenable to it—*de la ravoir et reprendre par devers lui.*"† Thus assurance was made doubly sure. There was no escape from the stake for the doomed prisoner.

The rigour of the imprisonment of Jeanne was abated from the period that the Procès commenced.‡

* Sextus Decretalium, lib. vi. tit. i. cap. xx.—Apud Quicherat, Nouv. Aper.

† Nouv. Aper. p. 113.

‡ " Audivit a Stephano *Castille*, fabro, quod ipse construxerat

But she still was chained night and day, except when under examination. Quicherat says, *elle n'eut plus que les fers aux pieds,* and that the Bishop of Beauvais would perhaps have desired to spare her this rigour, but when she complained to him of it he endeavoured to induce her to swear that she would not attempt to escape: she refused to do so.*

One of the first proceedings of the Bishop of Beauvais was to send a citizen from Rouen, named Moreau, to the country from which la Pucelle came, to obtain information in regard to the life and conduct of that girl. He received, and reported very favourable accounts; which so much irritated the Bishop, that far from paying Moreau the expense of the journey he had made by his orders, he loaded him with the grossest abuse.

The Procès was begun on Wednesday 21st of February, 1431. La Pucelle appeared in Court, and then demanded that there should be as many Ecclesiastics of the King's party as there were on the part of the English; that she should be trans-

pro ea quamdam gabiam ferri in qua detinebatur correcta et ligata collo, manibus et pedibus; et quod fuerat in eodem statu a tempore quo adducta fuerat ad villam Rothomagensem usque ad initium processus contra eam agitati."—*Déposition de Jean Massieu,* t. iii. p. 155.

* "Prohibuimus eidem Johannæ ne recederet de carceribus sibi assignatis. . . Ipsa vero respondit quod non acceptabat illam inhibitionem, dicens ulterius quod, si evaderet, nullus posset eam reprehendere quod fidem suam fregisset, quia nulli unquam fidem dederat." t. i. p. 47.

ferred to the prison of the church, since she was to be judged by Ecclesiastics, and that they should take off the irons that she had on her feet. As a minor, being only in her nineteenth year, she required a counsel, but all these demands were unfeelingly refused her.

Finally, they exacted from her the oath to speak the truth; which she agreed to, but with the exception of revealing those secrets she had communicated to the King, which she had never made known to any one whatever, and which she would never disclose, even if her life were the forfeit: to which purpose she constantly adhered, notwithstanding the reiterated interrogatories they made to her on that subject. At the same interview the Bishop of Beauvais forbade her to attempt to escape from prison; to which she replied with firmness that she would not acknowledge the right of such a command, and that if she fled no one would blame her for doing so.

They presented her the letters she had written to the English as soon as she had arrived at Orleans; and although it was more than ten months since she had written them, she knew, nevertheless, when they were read to her, that they had been falsified in several passages. They then asked her if she had seen an angel hovering over the head of her King; to which she replied: *Pardonnez-moi et passez outre.* They then came to the essential point which they wanted to know; it was regarding apparitions and revelations that the King had

had: to which she answered, that she would say nothing; and that they might themselves send to the King for information: this she again repeated in the fifth assembly.

And as they were anxious to accelerate this affair, they held another meeting on Saturday the 24th of February, when she warned the Bishop to be careful as to making himself her judge. But could such a Bishop be susceptible of any scruples, on a like remonstrance? They would willingly have extorted from her certain truths regarding the King, but she remained firm, she would not perjure herself, and told them *de passer outre.* She assured them also, that there were things concerning which she was not obliged to answer: and when they put doubtful questions to her, she asked them to give her time to consider. Moreover, far from priding herself on what she had done, she invariably attributed all to God.

Tuesday the 27th of February, a fourth meeting was held, at which to the many questions put to her she made answers replete with good sense, much above her age and condition; and upon particular facts, which she had previously been questioned about by other officials, she directed her judges to the verbal process that had been made at Poictiers.

The fifth meeting was held on Thursday the 1st of March, they repeated to la Pucelle the answers she had made to the Comte d'Armagnac, then a fugitive in Aragon, who had written to her on the

subject of Pierre de Lune the Antipope; but her memory, which had served her to know the falsifications of passages in her letters to the English, discovered to her likewise that her enemies had made use of the same artifice in regard to her replies to the Comte d'Armagnac.

The gravity of her situation did not, however, prevent her in her answers indulging in some little strokes of raillery against her judges. It was in this fifth interrogatory that she announced *qu'auparavant sept ans, les Anglais quitteraient un bien plus grand gage que celui qu'ils quittèrent devant Orléans; et qu'ils perdroient tout ce qu'ils ont en France, et recevroient la plus grande perte qu'ils ayent jamais eue en France; que cela se fera par une grande victoire que Dieu envoyera aux Français.* The judges made little account of the prediction; they asked her if the saints who appeared to her had hair. Upon which she could not refrain answering them in a kind of mockery: *Cela est bon à savoir.* And shortly afterwards they questioned her as to the language of Sainte Marguerite; as to whether she spoke in English. *Comment parleraitelle Anglais, vu qu'elle n'est pas du parti Anglais?* Such was her reply, and it served as a significant suggestive subject for reflexion to her judges.

The sixth was held the 3rd of March, when they put many captious and equivocal questions to la Pucelle, which she evaded with much prudence and firmness. They exhorted her to put on a woman's

dress, which she refused to do. But the most important point on which she was examined was that of the infant who was said to have been resuscitated at Lagni before the image of the Blessed Virgin. The young women of the town, she replied, being at the time in prayer, she had been solicited to go to the church amongst other persons of her own sex; she went there, and far from thinking that she had performed any miracle, she said, what had taken place was attributed only to the Divine mercy, excited by the public prayers of those young maidens.

The seventh examination was held on the 10th of March. They interrogated her for a long time about the sign she gave the King as to the authority of her mission. The more curious her judges were to know the sign, the more firmly she adhered to the determination not to reveal it.

The eighth and ninth examinations were held on Monday, the 12th of March, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The latter one was of little importance; but in the one of the morning, they spoke to her about the young man who wanted to marry her at Neuf-chateau, in Lorraine; upon which they interrogated her closely, remarking that she had made an engagement with that young man to marry her, which was false; it was the young man whose demand was rejected, and that refusal was the subject of complaint before the judge at Toul. To all their questions on this matter she replied, that she had offered herself up to God, and as long as it was his will, she should remain a virgin.

The tenth was held on Tuesday, the 13th of March, in the afternoon. The famous sign given to the King at the first interview disquieted considerably her judges, and they began anew their questions, but the heroine shewed the same constancy and determination not to satisfy their curiosity. Notwithstanding she continued to speak to them with firmness, and always maintained that King Charles would finally remain in peaceable possession of his kingdom.

The eleventh and twelfth examinations were both held on the same day, Wednesday the 14th of March. Her judges had occasion to remark the just way in which she expressed herself in regard to the inhabitants of Compeigne, whose hard fate she bewailed, and their sufferings on account of their fealty to their legitimate sovereign; but at the same time she predicted that they would be succoured before Martinmas-day; which really happened the 1st of November, when the English were beaten and compelled to raise the siege of that city.

In one of these examinations, when addressing the Bishop of Beauvais, she remarked, very impressively: "Vous dites que vous êtes mon juge, je ne sais si vous l'etes, mais advisez bien que vous ne jugiez mal, parce que vous vous mettez en grand danger; et je dois vous advertir que si finalement Dieu vous en chastie, je sais mon devoir vous en avertir."

As to the twelfth examination, which took place the same afternoon, it was of little moment; they merely interrogated her about the escape she endea-

voured to make from the Château de Beaurevoir, but she avowed it was purely out of zeal for the inhabitants of Compiegne, whom she was so anxious to assist.

The thirteenth seance was held on the 15th of March, in the morning. As they were anxious to make her out a heretic, they exhorted her to confess her errors and refer herself to the Church; but she in her simplicity not understanding how to argue upon points of doctrine, said, that if she had spoken aught against the faith, they had only to let her know, and that she was very far from wishing to maintain it.

She always continued to shew the same zeal for religion, and never ceased begging to be allowed to hear mass.

"Un piege," dit Quicherat, "que les formes du droit pouvaient parfaitement couvrir, suffit pour procurer la condemnation de Jeanne . . . . Elle etoit si penetrée du sentiment de la foi, et en meme temps si ignorante de ses termes; elle etait si convaincue que sa voix intérieure, venant de Dieu, l'emportait sur tous les autres commandements, qu'il n'était pas difficile de tirer de sa bouche des propositions malsonnantes.* Ces propositions, il s'agissait ensuite de

* "Interroguée de dire s'elle se rapportera à la determinacion de l'Église, respond: Je m'en rapporte à N. S. qui m'a envoyée, à N. D. et à tous les benoicts saincts et sainctes de Paradis. Et luy est advis que c'est tout ung de N. S. et de l'Église." t. i. p. 175. "Elle croit bien que N. S. P. le pape de Rome et les évesques et autres gens d'Église sont pour garder la foy chrestienne et pugnir ceulx qui défaillent; mais, quant à elle, de ses faictz elle ne se submectra fors seullement à l'Église du ciel, c'est à savoir

les lui faire maintenir dans leur forme répréhensible, en ne l'instruisant pas des correctifs dont l'Eglise veut que l'on se serve en pareille matière ; on la condamnait sur cela," etc.

Taking it for granted that some of the answers of the Maid of Orleans were not strictly orthodox, we must consider the age, instruction, and circumstances of the deponent, and the fact of there being three rival candidates for the tiara not long before the death of Jeanne. She had been even consulted by the Count d'Armagnac on the subject of this schism; and the perplexity of the Christian world had been absurdly forced on her attention.*

à Dieu, à la Vierge Marie et saincts et sainctes de Paradis." *Ibid.* p. 205. "Dit que de croire en ses révélacions, elle n'en demanda point conseil à évesque, ou curé ou autres." *Ibid.* p. 274. "Interroguée se l'Eglise militant luy dit que ses révélacions sont illusions diaboliques, s'elle s'en raportera à l'Eglise, respond qu'elle s'en raportera à N. S., ... et en cas que l'Église militant luy commanderoit faire le contraire, elle ne s'en rapporteroit à homme du monde fors à N. S." *Ibid.* p. 325. "Je croy bien l'Eglise de cy bas, mais de mes fais et dis, je me actend et raporte à Dieu. . . . . Interroguée s'elle veut dire qu'elle n'ait point de juge en terre et se N. S. P. le pape n'est point son juge, respond: Je ne vous en diray autre chose, j'ay bon maistre, c'est assavoir N. S. à qui je me actend du tout, et non á autre." *Ibid.* p. 392 et 393. —Quicherat, Nouv. Aper. p. 110.

* The general Council of Constance was assembled in 1414, with a view to the extinction of the schisms which had then disturbed the church for a period of thirty-seven years.

Martin was elected Pope in the Council of Constance. There was then Benedict XIII., a rival Pope, elected in 1394, deposed

Lettre du Comte d'Armagnac à Jeanne la Pucelle.

" Ma très chere Dame, je me recommande humblement à vous, et vous supplie pour Dieu que, attendu la division qui est à present à la Sainte Eglise universelle, sur le fait des Papes; car il y a trois contendans du Papat; un demeure à Rome, qui se fait nommer Martin Quint, auquel tous les Rois Chretiens obéissent, l'autre demeure à Panisceles au Royaume de Valence, lequel se fait appeler le Pape Clément VII.; le tiers ou ne scait où il demeure, sinon seulement le Cardinal de S. Etienne, et peu de gens avec lui, lequel se fait appeler le Pape Benoist XIV. Le premier, qui se dit Pape Martin, â été élu à Constance par le consentement de toutes les nations des Chrétiens. Celui qui se fait appeller Clément, fut élu à Paniscelles, après la mort du Pape Benoit XIII., par trois de ses Cardinaux. Le tiers qui se nomme Pape Benoist XIV. à Paniscelles, fut élu secrétement, même par la Cardinal de St. Etienne. Veuillez supplier à Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ que par sa misericorde infini nous veuille pour vous déclarer qui est, des trois dessus dits, vrai Pape; et auquel plaira que l'on obéisse de cy en avant, ou à celui qui se dit Benoit,

in 1417, in the Council of Constance, but still asserting the title of Pontiff, and who was living in 1424.

In 1424 Clement VIII. had been elected, but was not recognized by the Church. This Anti-Pope contested the tiara during the latter years of Jeanne d'Arc.

ou à celui qui se dit Clement, et auquel nous devous croire, si secrétement, ou par aucune dissimulation, ou publique, ou manifeste: car nous serons tous prets de faire le vouloir et le plasir du notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, le tout notre Comte d'Armagnac."

Résponse De la Pucelle au Comte d'Armagnac.

"Jesus + Maria.

"Comte d'Armagnac, mon trés cher et bon ami, Jehanne la Pucelle vous fait savoir que votre message est venu par devers moi, lequel m'a dit que l'avez envoyé par deça pour savoir de moi auquel des trois Papes que mandez par mémoire vous devriez croire, de laquelle chose ne vous puis bonnement faire savoir au vrai pour le présent, jusques a ce que je sois à Paris, ou ailleurs à requoy; car je suis pour le présent trop empêchée aux faits de la guerre: mous quand vous saurez que je serai à Paris, envoyez moi un message par devers moi, et je ferai savoir tout au vrai auquel vous devrez croire, et que en aurez sçu par le conseil de mon Souverain Seigneur le Roi de tout le monde, et que en aurez affaire, à tout mon pouvoir, a Dieu nous commans, Dieu soit garde de vous. Escrit a Compiegne, ce 22 jour d'Aout (1429.)"

The fourteenth meeting of the judges of Jeanne d'Arc, was held on Saturday, the 17th of March, 1431, in the morning. The questions were put to the accused with obvious artifice, and a design to embarrass her; they were without connection, order

or sequence of events or subjects of inquiry; at one moment about her communication with angels; then about her wearing male attire; then about the fairies; next, as to the crowns and vesture of saints Catherine and Margaret; a little later about the love or hatred that God might have for the English and the French. To all this medley of different and complicated questions, she replied with much prudence and simplicity. Several of the interrogators addressing her at the same time, spoke confusedly, and in a manner calculated to embarrass her; and on one occasion perceiving these efforts were chiefly made by members of the tribunal who were of the monastic orders, she turned to them, and said with calm composure, not unmixed however with sarcasm she could not restrain: *Beaux Frères, faites l'un après l'autre.*

But, however perplexed she may have been, she always persisted in repeating two things; one was, that the English would be completely driven out of the country; and the other, that she would sooner die than revoke anything she had said or done in the service of the King, by the command of God, as her "voices" intimated *His* pleasure to her. She however declared that she wished for no earthly recompense. The only one she desired and prayed for, was the salvation of her soul. When they endeavoured to entrap her by urgent queries into ill-considered replies, she pointed out clearly and collectedly the danger of answering hastily, and not

unfrequently requested them to give her time to reply with certainty.

The 15th *seance* of the judges was held the afternoon of the same day. There was a great deal said about her wearing male attire, and the criminality of that act: in defence of which she pleaded:

1. The superior order which she had received to adopt it.

2. That the dress was more seemly for her to wear than that of a woman, when engaged in warfare or communicating with soldiers.

3. That it was more fitting in order to preserve her purity. It was in fact, in the prison especially, she was exposed to the greatest peril at the hands of her enemies, and those who had charge of her, on the part too of a man of the highest rank among the English forces, as she herself assured Frère Martin Ladvenu, who faithfully attended her to the hour of her death. She had frequently entreated to be allowed to frequent the sacrament, and to enter the chapel of the fortress. She renewed her application at this seance, and a conditional order was made at that examination, allowing her to go to mass on Easter Sunday, provided she did so in woman's attire. But she refused to accept of this conditional permission. In fact, while she was imprisoned in the Chateau de Rouen, we are told by nearly all her biographers, on one occasion when she was in the charge of four or five English soldiers, men of the very lowest class, and of a brutal

character, insults had been offered to her, and complained of by her to the Earl of Warwick, and to the Bishop of Beauvais, and Du Fresnoy states those personages took no notice of her complaints, and that circumstance had determined her again to put on the dress of a man, and to sleep always in it; and her judges made this a pretext for declaring her guilty. It was only through the interference of the Duchess of Bedford, sister of the Duke de Bourgogne, who had had her carefully visited, and was convinced of her purity and integrity, that those in charge of her were prevented from repeating their outrages. But, notwithstanding the well-known modesty of this creature, her judges had the indelicacy to put questions to her of an improper kind, unbecoming of them to ask, and for a modest girl to be expected to answer.

She was again questioned about her belief in fairies and supposed intercourse with them in childhood; about her favourite spiritual visitants Saints Catherine and Marguerite; about the devices on her banner, the crosses she had caused to be worked in it before and after the names of *Jesus, Maria.* Upon this last article she observed that she had learnt from priests, who ought to know what was right, that it was proper to shew outwardly our reverence for those sacred names as well as to feel it inwardly. That question and other similar inquiries she answered sensibly and modestly. She finished this day by appealing to the Pope, by demanding to

be conducted before his throne. But this appeal was at once refused. As she had frequently made the same request, and objections had been raised by some of the judges to this refusal, they thought it necessary to adopt means of a secret and perfidious nature to lead her into other opinions more conformable with their views.

"They detached (says du Fresnoy) from his religious duties one of those miserable ecclesiastics, who dishonoured at that time the very name of religion, and of whom there were but too many in those days, he was a man named Loiseleur, who pretended to be a prisoner confined in the same fortress, and left nothing undone to hinder her from persisting in appealing to the Pope."

This fifteenth *seance* of the judges terminated the examinations; the accused answered always with great firmness and astounding presence of mind, without the least forgetfulness of the modesty and simplicity which became her sex, her age and her condition. When the questions did not relate in any way to the subject matter of the Procès, she knew very well how to intimate to the judges their line of duty; and repeatedly had to tell them of the irrelevancy of the topic, and to order them to proceed to something else, "de passer outre." She persisted to the last in refusing to reveal anything of what she had made known to the King, or that the King had confidentially imparted to her.

It was surprising, we are told in the deposition of

persons who were present when she was examined, how a young person of her age could have gone through such an ordeal as she had done, and how effectually and adroitly she managed, when they put any improper questions to her, to make her judges feel they were acting unworthily. There were exhibitions too of finesse and of raillery, when she thought such weapons were required; when, on one occasion, during the fifth *seance* of the judges, when they asked her whether St. Michael, who, she said, had appeared to her at different times, wore hair or not: she replied, *pourquoi les y auroit on coupés?* And then if the archangel was without clothing, questions which were very unbecoming for those reverend ecclesiastics to ask, she replied: *Pensez-vous que notre Seigneur n'aye de quoi les vétir?*

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND PHASE OF THE PROCES — EXAMINATIONS OF THE PRISONER—SCANDALOUS PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUDGES — THE EXECUTION OF THEIR VICTIM—THE CHARACTER, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, AND NATURE OF THE INSPIRATIONS OF JEANNE D'ARC—IMPOSTURE PRACTISED BY A WOMAN PRETENDING TO BE JEANNE D'ARC FIVE YEARS AFTER HER DEATH—GERSON'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE PUCELLE.

If it came within the scope of this work to enter into a detailed biographical account of Jeanne d'Arc, there is certainly no portion of her career that would deserve so much notice, or command so much admiration as that part of it in which she is presented to us under examination before her iniquitous judges; and be it remembered, as she is represented there by her deadly enemies, for no other records exist of that Procès but the official report of it which was elaborated and put forth by them. But, if Quicherat found five volumes in large 8vo. of thickly printed matter too small a space for an examination of that Procès, and the subsequent one of Justification, and the various documents in connection with them, and found it necessary at the expiration of his ten years'

labour to publish an additional volume *en resumée* of his materials; any space in this work of mine, devoted to this subject, must necessarily be wholly insufficient for a biography of the heroine.

But, I do not pretend to write a history of her career. My purpose is to give an impartial and authentic account of the true character of those phenomena which are connected with it, quite regardless of the result in its bearings on national susceptibilities; and only anxious to place that character before my readers fairly, yet more fully than it ever has been done before in this country. If I have accomplished this object, as I believe I have done; to the gigantic labours of Mons. Quicherat the result will be mainly attributable. But something may remain to be said of the use made of those materials, and the disposal of them; of the condensation of facts, and the examination of the statements of them, not only in works of modern times, but also in chronicles and historical references of an ancient date.

This task has been undertaken with the desire of setting up a true and noble figure of history, in the face of great enmities to all truth, namely, of national pride, which can bear no light that shines not on its own idols; and of national prejudice, in combination with ignorance, or false knowledge, which can bear no enlightenment on any subject derived from deep research, on which the minds of ill-informed or prejudiced persons, have been made

up without the trouble of inquiry and strict examination.

Jeanne d'Arc, generally speaking, in her examinations before her judges appears to great advantage in an intellectual point of view. She is no longer, simply, in Michelet's words—"Jeune fille de bon sens et de bon cœur:" she is thoughtful, acute, observant, vigilant, and prompt in dealing with interrogatories she believes framed for the purpose of entrapping her, and finding a pretext for putting her to death. Her natural frankness inclines her to answer every question put to her, without reserve or equivocation, but when she has once perceived a malignant design in a query she is called on to answer, she endeavours to shift the topic; she tells her examinant to pass on to other matters of inquiry. "*Passe outre*" is the frequent intimation made by her to the judges. She tells them they are losing their time in seeking to gain a knowledge of what passed between her and the King at their first interview. Sometimes she remonstrates with them for their partiality—at other times she menaces them with Divine judgments; but not unfrequently, it must be admitted, she becomes pettish, captious, severe, and equivocal in her replies. On one occasion she feigns, and a little latter confesses that she has done so, in the extremity of her perplexity, when she has been harassed by her examiners. Throughout the examinations she magnifies the virtues of Charles VII., and long after his coronation, and many years

after the death of his father, Charles VI. she continues for some unexplicable reason, to give him the old denomination of Dauphin, by which he was first known to her.

This curious fact *might have been brought forward* in support of the opinion that Jeanne d'Arc laboured under mental hallucinations; for it is one of their characteristics, that from the time they take possession of the mind, no subsequent change of circumstances affect them. It would seem, in such cases, as if there was a period clearly defined, up to which date the mind will be found in a fit state to receive new ideas of a sane kind; but from a particular time, there will be no entrance for them: no tabula rasa for them to be written on or retained.

There is one thing prominently remarkable in the demeanour and deportment of Jeanne, and in her responses to her interrogators, from the first examination to the last, the thorough conviction of her mind, that her mission is of a divine origin, that the object of it is of transcendant importance, and that the dignity of her official character is such, that she may speak with perfect freedom to her exalted accusers and judges, whom she looks upon as the instruments of the vengeance of her enemies, the invaders of France, and their allies, as traitors to their King and country.

"Les interrogatoires," dit Quicherat, "de Rouen ne sont pas non plus très-instructifs pour le point qu'il s'agit d'éclaircir. Jeanne en présence de ses juges,

n'est plus, comme à Poitiers, la simple fille qui s'abandonne à ses souvenirs devant des hommes qu'elle est sûre de subjuguer. On s'aperçoit qu'elle sent autour d'elle une atmosphère de malveillance et de haine. Le danger de sa situation la domine; elle se livre le moins qu'elle peut. Cependant c'est dans ses réponses, et là seulement que se montre le melange de religion et de patriotisme qui formentait dans sa pensèe enfantine."*

There was a suspension of the business of the Procès on Holy Thursday, the 22nd of March. On Saturday, the 24th, they brought the Pucelle again before them, to have all the questions and responses read over to her. She added but little to what she had already said. She, however, refuted the falsehoods that the Proctor had inserted in seventy articles which were presumed to embody her testimony. The following day, Palm Sunday, she begged earnestly to be permitted to go to mass; which was always refused her, unless she would put on the dress of a woman, which they told her to consider well before Easter Sunday. She subsequently said she was convinced when they spoke thus to her, they were meditating some new snare for her. Tuesday, the 27th of March, the Proctor read to the accused the seventy articles, which it was stated were extracted from the responses she had given to the questions of her judges. But this garbled report the accused declared in many things falsified the evidence, and

* Quicherat, Aperçus Nouveaux, p. 6.

in some particulars substituted the negative for the affirmative, and often things quite contrary to what she had deposed.

Jeanne refuted many of these falsified statements of her evidence in those seventy articles. But her refutations were of no avail. One more of the judicial forms of the long settled condemnation and sacrifice of the victim was gravely gone through. Another mockery of justice followed. A formula of sentence of condemnation was read aloud by the Proctor of the iniquitous tribunal. The innocent girl, pure and pious as she was noble and heroic, was declared:

"Sorciere, devineresse; fausse prophête, invocatrice de demons, conjuratrice, superstitieuse remplie et entiérement adonnée à la magie, sentent mal de la Foi Catholique, sacrilege, idolâtre apostate de la Foi, blasphemant, le nom de Dieu et ses Saints, scandaleuse seditieuse, troublant la paix et l'empechant, excitant la guerre, cruelle, desirant l'effusion du sang humain, incitant à l'espandre, ayant de tout abandonne et depouillé la pudeur et decence du sexe feminine pris l'habillement des hommes armés, sans aucune honte, ni vergogne, abandonnant et méprisant la Loi de Dieu, de nature, et la discipline ecclésiastique devant Dieu et les hommes, séduisant les Princes et les peuples; ayant consenti qu'on l'adorat et lui baisa les mains et les vetemens au grand mepris et injure de l'honneur et du culte du a Dieu. Demande qu'elle soit déclarée

hérétique, ou a tout le moins grandement suspecte d'hérésie et punie légitimement selon les constitutions Divine et Canoniques."*

Saturday, the last day of March, 1431, the eve of Easter, la Pucelle was again interrogated by the Bishop of Beauvais, who wanted to oblige her to submit herself to the church militant: she willingly consented, provided they did not command her to revoke, as she said, what she had done by Divine inspiration: she said the same in regard to the spiritual communications, which she declared had been vouchsafed to her by God.

The Monday following, the 2nd of April, which was Easter Monday, the judges assembled to commit to writing twelve capital articles declaratory of her guilt, which were reduced from the forty-seven previously mentioned, to be sent to the University of Paris to be ratified and approved by that body. It was with such goodly dispositions that the Bishop of Beauvais, and forty-six Ecclesiastical Commissioners, celebrated this solemn festival. The University of Paris at that time was as much devoted to the English and their ally the Duke de Bourgogne as the Bishop of Beauvais and his proctor. On the 18th of April, the Bishop of Beauvais went to the prison of his victim, and commanded her to be brought before him. She was then ill, but her evident state of suffering did not prevent the bishop from harassing her with remonstrances on the

* Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, par M. l'Abbé du Fresnoy, pp. 92, 93.

subject of her replies to the interrogatories, and especially on the subject of her visions, and the revelations she had stated had been made to her which were favourable to the cause of Charles VII. and his claims to the throne of France.

Nothing was left untried to induce her to retract those statements of hers in regard to the apparitions and their consequences.

Wednesday, the 2nd of May, she was brought before the Bishop, and the result of this interview was, that she avowed her readiness to submit herself to the church militant in all matters relating to faith; but, as to what she had done or said in favour of the King, she declared her determination to refer all to God and to Him alone. She expressed, moreover, an earnest wish to be conducted to the Pope to answer to him for her deeds. But the Bishop of Beauvais would not permit this desired appeal to be inserted in the report of the proceedings; and, in reference to this manifest injustice, Jeanne observed: *Ah! vous ecrivez bien ce qui fait contre moi, et ne voulez pas qu'on écrive ce qui fait pour moi.*"

At another interview, and for the third time, she made an appeal to the Pope, and demanded to be taken to him, and with the same result.

At this juncture she was advised by the Frere Isambert, a friar of the order of St. Augustin, to demand of her judges to be brought before the Council General of Basle, which was at that time being held. In her simplicity and ignorance of what

was meant by a General Council, she inquired of the Frere Isambert the nature of that assemblage, and was informed that it was an assemblage of the whole Universal Church, and in that Council there were not less of her own party than of those who were on the side of the English.*

Jeanne, upon being told this, cried out: *Oh! puisqu'en ce lieu sont aucuns de notre parti, je veux bien me rendre et soumettre au Concile de Basle.*† The indignation of the Bishop of Beauvais immediately burst forth, he exclaimed in a loud and angry voice to Frere Isambert: *taisez vous de par le diable.* He likewise strongly urged the reporter of the proceedings to be cautious how he made any note of this act of submission on the part of the accused, and her appeal to the council of Basle.

At the same time the Comte de Ligny, who is accused (without any specific proof however) of having had the meanness to sell the captive who had been his prisoner to the English, went to see her at the Chateau de Rouen, in the presence of the Bishop of Térouane, who was of the house of Luxembourg, accompanied by the Earl of Warwick and the Count d'Eschanfort. Ligny told her, on this occasion, he

* Déposition de Frere Isambert de la Pierre du 5 Mars, 1449, (1450).

† The General Council of Basle was assembled in 1431, with a view to the extinction of the discord occasioned by the Bohemian controversies on the subject of the Communion, "sous les deux especes," and the reformation of the Clergy, "in Capito et Membris."

had come to treat for her ransom: *Je n'en crois rien,* said she; *je sens bien que c'est une raillerie, car vous n'en avez ni la volonte ni le pouvoir.* This she repeated more than once.

Je sais bien, she continued, *que ces Anglais me feront mourir, croyant qu'après ma mort ils gagneront le Royaume de France: mais seroient-ils cent mille "godons"* plus qu'ils ne sont à présent, ils n'auront pas ce royaume.*

These words spoken by the heroine with so much confidence irritated greatly the Comte d'Eschanfort, and he even went so far, it is stated, as to draw his sword as if to strike her, but the Earl of Warwick prevented him.†

Wednesday, the 9th of May, the Bishop went to the prison and threatened la Pucelle that she should be put to the torture, if she did not make the confessions of the truth which were expected from her. She remained firm, and replied, that if, when tortured, she should say anything different from that which she had deposed, she would not fail to retract it when she was taken from the rack.

Saturday, the 12th, they decided upon not putting her to the torture, many being of opinion that she would fall sick again, if tortured, and die a *natural* death.

* A hundred thousand God—d—ns.

† Déposition du Sieur Haimond Seigneur de Macy, du 7 Mai, 1456, qui se trouva présent à l'entrevue du Comte de Ligny et de la Pucelle au Château de Rouen, et qui même l'avoit une au Château de Beaurevoir et de Crotoy.

Wednesday, the 23rd of May, the Bishop of Beauvais went to the Chateau of Rouen, and ordered the Pucelle to be brought before him. On this occasion his efforts were to compel her to submit to the Faculty of Theology, and to acknowledge the errors for which they had condemned her.

We draw near to the end of the labours of the unworthy Bishop of Beauvais, and of the life of his illustrious victim. The following day, the 24th of May, the Bishop proceeded in state to the *Cimetiere de l'Abbaye de Saint Ouen* in Rouen. The prisoner was brought there well guarded, and placed upon a scaffold. Opposite to it a temporary pulpit was erected; a preacher, named Erard, made his appearance there, delivered a long sermon, which abounded with invective and false accusations and revolting calumnies against the prisoner, as we find testified by Edmond Richer, who had read this lamentable discourse of a Christian priest, who had thus desecrated his sacred functions. In this sermon, we are told, the preacher indulged frequently in most bitter reproaches against King Charles. Jeanne had listened silently to all the reproaches against herself; but those against her Sovereign raised her indignation. She vehemently interrupted the preacher, and said to him in a loud voice: *Révérence gardée, je vous ose bien dire et jurer sur peigne de ma vie que mon Roi est le plus noble Chrétien de tous les Chrétiens, et qui aime mieux la Foi et l'Eglise, et n'est point tel que vous dites.*

This escapade of the poor heroine was brought against her as one of her heinous crimes; and the Sieur Massieu who was stationed near the girl, had orders from the preacher and the Bishop of Beauvais to prevent her again speaking.* These facts were certified in depositions made at the time of the revision of the Procès. The Cardinal of Winchester, and several Bishops and Abbés were present on this occasion. At the conclusion of the sermon, after divers admonitions and demands addressed to the prisoner, the Pucelle at length said, that she would submit herself to Rome and to the Holy Father the Pope, and that was what she had all along begged to be allowed to do; but she could never prevail on her accusers to insert this submission in the Procès verbal, and if it were not for this refusal she never could have been declared a heretic. She then assured them that she would render an account of her acts only to God, and to the Pope, but the power of submitting to the latter had always been refused her.

The Bishop finding that she persisted in the appeal, gave her notice that he was about to pronounce her sentence. The prisoner then, as we are informed by those who deposed to her words on this occasion, said that since Churchmen did not approve of her apparitions and revelations, she would not adhere to them. After much consultation on the

* Déposition de Martin Ladvenu, de l'ordre de S. Dominique, du 19 Décembre, 1455. Il fut l'un de ceux qui accompagnerent la Pucelle au suplice. Et Massieu déposa aussi la méme chose.

part of the assembled Prelates and Doctors, it is said a written document was presented to her, a long and detailed retractation of the errors imputed to her, and this document, a feigned retractation artfully prepared by skilful theologians, the nature of which in all probability she ignored, eventually was signed by her.

The Abbe du Fresnoy says: "We shall now shew an egregious fraud on the part of the Bishop of Beauvais, which has been certified in the revision of the Procès by the Sieur Jean Massieu,* to whom the care of la Pucelle had been confided in the prison, and who himself read to her when she was upon the scaffold the true retractation, written on a very small piece of paper, which did not contain above eight lines. She promised, in substance, that she would not again dress herself in men's apparel, nor again to have her hair cut round, which was then the fashion of the time for soldiers; nor to carry arms for the future, and other things of little importance. Thus, this formulary is perfectly different from that which her judges fabricated and put forth as hers.

They threatened Jeanne to burn her, if she did not sign this retractation; which she did, fearing that horrid death, as she afterwards avowed. The assembled people, however, indignant at the menaces made to the prisoner, could not refrain from throwing

* Déposition du Sieur Jean Massieu curé de la Ville de Rouen, du 17 Decembre, 1455. Il fut chargé de lui lire cette retraction.

stones, and from hooting the Bishop of Beauvais, whose iniquities were too manifest not to be revolting to the most indifferent spectators."*

The most "vexed question" in the whole history of Jeanne d'Arc, is that of the retractation obtained, or rather extorted from Jeanne d'Arc, immediately before her first condemnation to a life of penitence and perpetual imprisonment. That abjuration or retractation of hers, we are told by Quicherat, is recorded in the Procès, and attested by a document signed with a cross, and bearing her name, wherein she is made to accuse herself of having acted in violation of the sacred Scriptures, and the laws of the Church, of having simulated apparitions, to have done wrong in assuming man's attire, and adopting the profession of arms.† According to the Procès verbal, she pronounced verbally the above retractation, then signed the document in presence of the people of Rouen, at that scene of justice travestied that was got up, and performed with so much dramatic effect in the Place de St. Ouen, in front of the church of that name at Rouen. Jeanne was placed on an elevated platform, having on another eminence beside her, the Ecclesiastic Guillaume Erard *l'apparitcur*, the reporters of the Crown, and other persons. According to the evidence of the witnesses on the occasion of the second Procès of Revision, the events which took place there were

* Du Fresnoy, Hist. de Jeanne d'Arc.

† Quicherat, Procès, t. i. p. 417.

very different from those described in the first Procès.

The formula of the retractation which they caused the Pucelle to pronounce was not that which is recorded in the Procès.* The latter is a long piece of writing, the former (the retractation which she did consent to make) contained only five or six lines of writing. With regard to the signature there is nothing certain and explicit; according to the witnesses, after much difficulty, Jeanne was got to sign the document with a cross: but which document did she thus sign—the long or the short?

A chevalier, who was present at the execution, deposed at the Procès of Revision, that he saw a Secretary of the King of England, named Lawrence Callot, draw from his sleeve a small paper with writing on it, which he presented to the Pucelle, and she having a pen placed in her hand made a circle or round O at the bottom of the paper, and as that did not appear sufficient to Lawrence Callot, the latter seized her hand and made her write something, but the witness knew not what was written.

There are two hypotheses supported by the biographers of Jeanne d'Arc, one is that Jeanne was made to sign and pronounce a retractation different from that which is inserted in the Procès :† the other that she was made to sign surreptitiously a document inserted in the Procès after she had pronounced an-

* Procès, t. iii. p. 52, 61, 123, 147, 157, 164, 194, 197.

† Procès de Rehabilet. Quicherat, t. 3. p. 273.

other, the terms of which were not conformable to those of the written formula.*

"Ces deux suppositions," dit Quicherat "selon moi, impliquent une supercherie trop grossière, pour qu'on en admette aucune. Cauchon ne se serait point hasardé à une fabrication, ni même à une substitution de pièce, où il aurait eu besoin de la complicité de beaucoup de personnes. Bien plus, la preuve existe que Jeanne fut instruite, sur la place Saint-Ouen, des points capitaux que contient la pièce du Procès. Dans l'interrogatoire qui précéda son supplice, les juges lui rappelèrent tous ces points, celui notamment qui concernait la fausseté de ses apparitions. Elle ne nia pas, seulement elle répondit qu'elle ne l'avait pas entendu ainsi; mais avant de se couvrir par cette allégation, elle avait fait des aveux bien plus significatifs, en disant qu'elle avait commis une faiblesse pour sauver sa vie; que Dieu lui en avait fait reproche par ses voix; qu'elle s'était exposée à la damnation de son âme, qu'elle s'en repentait; et comme pour ne pas laisser de doute sur la lucidité de sa conscience au moment où elle s'était rétractée, elle ajouta que ses voix l'avaient avertie à l'avance du péché où elle tomberait.†

* De l'Averdry Notice des MS. t. 3. p. 426.

† "Interroguée se, depuis jeudi (jour de l'abjuration), elle a point ouy ses voix: respond que ouil. . . que Dieu luy a mandé par sainctes Katherine et Marguerite, la grande pitié de la trayson que elle consenty en faisant l'abjuracion et revocacion pour sauver

"Si, Jeanne montra beaucoup d'hésitation avant de signer, c'est qu'elle combattait entre sa volonté et ce fatal pressentiment de faillir, qui avait parlé en elle les jours précédents. Les cris de la multitude et les sollicitations ou les menaces de Guillaume Erard achevèrent de la vaincre. Elle signa en traçant la croix dont déposent la plupart des témoins, et qui existe au bas de l'acte du Procès. Si ensuite on vit quelqu'un lui prendre la main pour la faire écrire : c'est que les juges voulaient que sa rétractation fût en aussi bonne forme que ses lettres qu'elle s'était habituée á revêtir de son seing dans les derniers temps de sa carrière, de là la pièce signée *Jehanne*, quoiqu'elle ne sût pas écrire."*

The sentence of perpetual imprisonment was not sufficient for the vengeance of the Duke of Bedford and the agents of his Royal masters. Nothing short of the death of the prisoner of war, the girl of nineteen, could satisfy them, and most iniquitous

sa vie ; et que elle se dampnoit pour saulver sa vie. Item, dit que, audevant de jeudi, ses voix lui avoient dit ce que elle feroit et qu'elle fit ce jour. . . Item, dit que ses voix luy ont dit depuis que avoit fait grande mauvestié de ce qu'elle avoit fait, de confesser qu'elle n'eust bien fait. Item, dit que de paour du feu, elle a dit ce qu'elle a dit. . . Et quant ad ce que luy fut dit que l'escharfault avoit dit que mensongneusement elle s'estoit vantée que c'estoient sainctes Katherine et Marguerite: respond qu'elle ne l'entendoit point ainsi dire ou faire, . . . et que ce qui estoit en la cédulle de l'abjuracion, elle ne l'entendoit point."—*Dernier interrogatoire*, t. i. p. 456, 457, 458.

* Quicherat. Aper. Nouv.

means were devised and executed for effecting that object.

Monday, the 28th of May, the Bishop of Beauvais once more returned to the prison and found the captive in man's attire. The persons in charge of her had made no complaint to her of this violation of her engagement; on the contrary, they had provided her with the means of breaking it. Those who excuse the act say, she thought herself at liberty again to put on her military attire when she found that faith had been broken with her: for the irons were still kept on her feet, and her judges refused to remove her to an ecclesiastical prison as they had promised.

On one occasion, we are told by Du Fresnoy, immediately before the resumption of male attire, she was lying down, when she was summoned to attend on persons sent to confer with her, and in order to rise, she said to the English soldiers who stood around her bed, they must take the chains off her body, and let her have the clothes she was then in the habit of wearing. They then drew from a bag a man's apparel, and refused to give her any other.

This was said to have been done through the agency of Deslevet, the Bishop of Beauvais' confidential man of all work, and the object was to find a pretext for declaring her relapsed.

The Bishop of Beauvais could not restrain evincing his gratification at seeing her again in military attire, and said to the English who were present, on going out: "*Faronnelle, faites bonne chere, il en est fait.*"

The 29th of May, a new Council was held at the Château de Rouen, where the Bishop, through Deslevet, ordered the prisoner to be proceeded against, and considered as a relapsed heretic. The same day she was summoned to the Château, briefly examined and condemned. The following day, the 30th of May, 1431, the eve of Corpus Christi day, at eight o'clock in the morning, she was led from her dungeon to the old market-place of Rouen.

But at seven o'clock the Bishop of Beauvais went to the prison, where he himself announced to the prisoner that she would upon that very day be delivered up to the secular authorities, "and the good bishop made her a great exhortation." The same day she made her confession, and by the clemency of "the good bishop" was allowed to receive the holy communion at the hands of Frere Martin Ladvenu of the Order of S. Dominick. She was then conducted to the old market-place, accompanied by that priest, who assisted her to the very last; and with him was the same Jean Massieu, who had been friendly to her on many occasions during her trial. He was priest and curate of the parish church of Saint Candide at Rouen.*

"The most upright man," says Quicherat, "that Providence was pleased to bring in contact with Jeanne d'Arc during the martyrdom of her trial and final sufferings, was an obscure member of the Dominican Order of Rouen, named Isambard

* Déposition du Sieur Massieu du 17 Decembre, 1455.

de la Pierre. This worthy friar, throughout the whole course of the *Procés* feared not to obey the dictates of his conscience, to expose himself to reproaches for putting the prisoner on her guard against the snares that were laid for her. He assisted her at the hour of her death, and held the crucifix before her even to her last breath."*

A modern German writer of great critical acumen, Dr. Karl Hase, a Professor of the University of Jena, in a remarkable work entitled "Neue Propheten," has entered largely into the history of the visions and reputed inspirations of Jeanne d'Arc; from that work the following details are taken of the events that took place subsequently to the forced abjuration on the part of the Pucelle:

"After the abjuration she was conducted back to prison, there fettered as before, and guarded by English soldiers. The Inquisitor visited and warned her not to relapse into her delusions, or that she would be lost and abandoned by all. She meekly suffered her hair to be cut off, and was dressed in female attire; probably in that of a penitent. On the third day, which was Trinity Sunday, the Bishop was informed that she had resumed her male attire, and had relapsed into her former errors.

"Ecclesiastics who were sent to her on this day, with what grave design we know not, were partly frightened back by the fury of the English garrison of the castle, and thus hindered from advising her.

* Nouv. Aper. p. 147.

On Monday the judges, with eight assessors and clerks, entered the prison, but the accused was not informed that she was again in danger of a fatal sentence, nor was she sworn to tell the truth. To the question, why contrary to her promise, she was again in male attire? she answered, according to the copy then taken of her words, "Because I considered it more suitable to clothe myself in this manner as long as I am guarded by men. Also, because you have not kept your promises to me that I should be allowed to go to mass, to receive the body of the Lord, and be no longer chained to this block." Twenty years afterwards one of the officials employed in the Procès (apparitor) gave testimony in a court of justice—to the effect that he had been informed, by Jeanne d'Arc herself, that on that Sunday morning, when she changed her dress, one of the guards had taken away her female apparel, and had thrown over to her her former dress, which had been left in a bag in the prison; that she had been obliged, when she wished to rise, to put on this dress, although she hesitated to wear it on account of the prohibition. But it is plain that here there is some misunderstanding, for according to the same story, her woman's dress was put into the same bag, which was not taken away, and consequently when she was visited by the ecclesiastics on Sunday, and on the following morning by the bishop, she could have demanded the restitution of her dress, which assuredly she did not then do. It is far more pro-

bable, as her confessor assures us, she complained to the bishop that a nobleman had attempted to do her violence, and in the struggle she was ill used and beaten. She was found in this state, faint, and in tears, by the good friar-preacher Isambert. Against such deeds of violence, which were connived at by her guards, it is likely she sought some protection in male attire.* This will also accord with the general expressions of the evidence, which although it contains only what is true, does not contain the whole truth. From the deposition of the apparitor, it appears that the English commander at least prepared the temptation to relapse, in leaving in the prison her knightly costume; and the wish to find her guilty is clear in the liberty accorded her to wear a dress which was reckoned a grievous crime; at the same time that every other free act was denied her. Long before this the Duchess of Bedford had indeed manifested a sincere purpose, and had got a woman's dress made for her, but the workman having brought it to the prison, and somewhat too earnestly advising the Maid to put off the dress she had hitherto worn, she shewed once more her old readiness of hand, and surprised the zealous advocate with a box on the ear.

* "Semel aut bis conquesta fuit ipsa Johanna . . . quod alter custodum voluerat eam violare; quibus Anglicis propterea à Domino Warwick . . . minæ magnæ illatæ sunt . . . et de novo duo alii custodes commissi."—Deposition de Manchon. Quicherat, Procès, t. ii. p. 298.

According to the evidence, when the Bishop represented to her that she had sworn not to wear male attire, she answered, "I will rather die than live in these chains. But, allow me to go to mass; give me a more tolerable prison, then I will be docile, and will do as the church directs." The Bishop went on to say he had been told she still held to her former fancies and revelations. He asked, had she since last Thursday, heard the voices of the saints? she answered, "Yes." He inquired, What! had they said to her? She replied, "God, through the two saints, who appeared to me, had made known to me my great fault in His infinite compassion for me, when, to save my life on that day (of the first condemnation) I consented to the abjuration. Since that time, the saints have discovered to me that I have done a grievous wrong; that I had endangered the salvation of my soul, to save my life." The judge also asked, Did she yet believe these voices to be those of the blessed Catherine and Margaret? she answered, "Yes." Did she believe they came from God? she answered, "Yes, they are from God." She was reminded that, in the presence of the clergy, and before all the people, she had solemnly acknowledged that she had falsely boasted of hearing the voices of the saints; she replied, "What I then said, was said against the truth, and only through fear of burning! But, I will now prefer to suffer at once any punishment, rather than endure any longer what I have had to bear in this prison." She said, more-

over, I do not understand what was contained in that writing of abjuration, and I have only now objected to it in the belief that this, my objection, may be pleasing to the Almighty! You have accused me of saying and of doing what I never said or did. For the rest, if you desire it, I will again put on female attire; beyond that, I will do nothing. When the Bishop left the prison, he said to the assembled crowd of English, "Farewell," and added some words in a jocular vein, tantamount to this "that it was all over with their prisoner." On the following day, in the Archbishop's palace, were assembled two judges; a great number of assessors, including many ignorant of the former proceedings, and three members of the faculty of medicine, who would not have been out of place had they sat there in their proper capacity, and not as spiritual assistants. All condemned Joan of Arc as having relapsed into error on the ground of the evidence already reported. The majority agreed that the form of abjuration should be read to her; the will of God should be proclaimed to her; and then she should be given up to the justice of the temporal power: that is to say, to death by burning! The canon law in the middle ages was without pity, for those who, after abjuring, relapsed into heresy. But it was no part of this severe law that the accused should not be heard and warned before sentenced, that it might be ascertained if she was fully conscious of her act. We rather see here a plot imagined with truly devilish cunning,

to deprive her of the glory of martyrdom, to destroy her in a spiritual sense by means of the abjuration before the annihilation of her body. But the haste and want of form with which she was dragged to death proceeded also, from fear of her enemies, who threatened and terrified those who took any part for her on her trial. According to the canon law, it would have been right to have placed her in the prison cell of a convent of religious women. If one part of her danger might have been averted in this spiritual custody, it still was not in the power of the Bishop, without the King's command, to give up a prisoner of war. That her relapse should follow could only be foreseen by those who understood the pathological source of these spiritual apparitions, which, with some, pass for hallucinations.

When, on the morning of the 30th of May, 1431, the Maid of Orleans awoke, she knew not it was her last waking upon earth. The Bishop had commissioned the friar preacher, Martin Ladvenu, to announce the end of her life to her, and to prepare her for her death. He heard her confession, and, as she expressed to him her longing to receive the body of the Lord, he sent to the Bishop, who returned him the answer, that he might do for her anything she required.

Here we find a striking contradiction, that the holiest gift of the Church should be received by her who at that very time was condemned to be cut off from the Church as a withered branch. But this

is only the often recurring contradiction we perceive in the Church, when having seized this bloody sword of the state, still preserves a dim recollection that her own innate constitution is the religion of the Spirit and of love. The friar still reserved his dreadful secret, in order, as he thought, not to disturb these holy actions, and the Maid, with many tears, received the sacrament, of which she had been long deprived. Then he told her that the hour of her death was at hand, and what her death was to be. She screamed loudly in her misery, "Alas, for me! It is dreadful that my healthy, youthful body, all unspotted, must this day be destroyed and reduced to ashes! Ah, it were better for me to be beheaded seven times over than to be burned to death!"

After these first outcries and outbursts of the agonized feelings of nature she composed herself to pray, and eventually she seemed wholly to confide in God; "this same evening," she said, "I shall be in Paradise." "The good Bishop" came to see her; she said, "I die through your means." He answered, "Joan, be patient, you are condemned to die because you did not keep your promises, and because you relapsed into your first crime." "Alas!" she replied, "had you placed me in a prison of the Church, and in the care of proper spiritual guardians, that would not have been done against me for which I appeal from you to God." She suffered them to put on her, as if for a shroud, her female attire, and about nine o'clock that morning she was conveyed in a cart through the courtyard of the Castle to the market

place, surrounded by about seven or eight hundred English soldiers. Here two scaffolds were erected, one for the judges, the other for the Maid, opposite to the funeral pile. The Bishop did not consider it necessary to order the reading of the form of abjuration, but a sermon was preached on the text, "When one member suffers, all the other members suffer also." The discourse concluded thus: "Depart in peace, the Church can no longer protect thee." Then the Bishop read the sentence. "In the name of God. Amen. We, thy lawful judges, found thee, Jeanne, called the Pucelle, guilty of apostacy, of idolatry, of invoking the devil, and of various other crimes; but as the Church ever opens her arms to receive the penitent, so we, believing that thou didst truly abjure and swear never to relapse into thy delusions, admitted thee again to repentance, as one resolved evermore to dwell in the unity of the Church. But thy heart was led astray by the Prince of lies, and thou art fallen back into thy errors, even as a dog returns to the vomit. Thou didst abjure thy errors with a false heart, and not in good faith, as thou hast thyself acknowledged. Therefore by the present sentence we proclaim thee a relapsed heretic and a withered branch. And lest thou corrupt others, we cast thee out of the bosom of the Church, and we deliver thee over to the temporal authorities, praying them to deal mildly and humanely by thee, and to rest satisfied with the death of thy body and the destruction of thy members."

This last phrase is merely the deceitful form proper to the ecclesiastical sentence of death, for the temporal judge was far more under subjection to the Inquisition than to the civil powers of France, and by the rights delegated to the Church, was liable to be himself accounted heretical if he did not consign the person thus given over to him to the flames.

The cap was then placed on her head, which ever decorated the holocausts of the Inquisition, and bore these words: *heretical, relapsed, faithless, idolatrous.* The Maid of Orleans, in the presence of death, spoke no word of inspiration or of prophecy to her own people; she was surrounded by those who were ignorant alike of her language and of her dispositions. But, kneeling down, she received the consolations of religion, in the presence of those unworthy ministers, of whom she was a victim. She asked for a crucifix, and a compassionate Englishman quickly fashioned one out of pieces of his cane and presented it to her. She reverently kissed it, and pressed it to her heart; she then begged of the worthy Isambert, who conducted her to death, to fetch from the neighbouring church a crucifix, and to hold it before her until she breathed her last sigh! She was heard to say, "Rouen! Rouen! Rouen! Rouen! thou wert destined to be my last place on earth, I fear thou wilt suffer greatly through my death!" She was also heard to say that, whether she had done well or ill, the King of France had not prompted her. This was the natural cry of her loyal heart, in order that what-

ever doubts might rest on her memory, the son of the sainted Louis should remain untouched. For her own part, she felt no uncertainty, although contrary to her fate and to the decision of the church, she had thought the saints promised once more to succour her. One witness only, unworthy of credit, tells us that, on her way to the place of execution, she said, "Whether those spirits were good or evil, they certainly did appear to me!" This, too, might have been only the undeniable expression of what she had experienced. But, in fact, however dreadful the flaming abyss before her, she was spared that greater sorrow, to feel she had been deluded.

The friar preacher, who received her last confidences, attested that, to the very last, she declared she had not been deceived by those supernatural voices; and that what she had done, she did in obedience to the command of God. She begged forgiveness of all whom she had injured, whether of her own or of the opposite party, and implored their prayers. She forgave them also whatever wrongs she had suffered from them. She prayed God, their Redeemer, who, for their sakes, died on the cross to save them. Already about half an hour had elapsed since the reading of her sentence, when the soldiers, amidst the tears that fell from many eyes, called out: "How long is this to last; must we stay here to dine!" Then the judge of Rouen said to the executioner, "Take her away, and do thy duty!" The Dominican friar ascended with her the funeral

pile, and she was fastened to the stake, which rose above her. She warned the friar to save himself when the flames slowly began to creep up through the wood. He still heard her invoke the saints, and her last word was the name of the Redeemer! Jesus! Jesus! The lily of France stood amidst scorching flames, until she became invisible through the smoke and the fire. Death soon claimed his right, that great reconciler of all sufferings and glorifier of worth oppressed and beaten down."*

There are a few of the circumstances of the execution related somewhat differently by Du Fresnoy. He states:—"When the prisoner was brought to the place of execution, she was led forward, made to ascend the pile by a ladder, and presented as a spectacle to be gazed on by the assembled multitude, while Dr. Nicolas Midy preached a sermon; and the Bishop of Beauvais pronounced the definitive sentence of the Ecclesiastical tribunal." He had scarcely finished speaking when the Doctor Midy, a zealous partizan of the English, said aloud: *Jeanne, l'Eglise ne vous peut plus defendre; mais vous abandonne au bras seculier.*

As soon as la Pucelle heard him, she fell on her knees upon the scaffold; prayed most devoutly to God, to St. Michel, St. Catherine, and to St. Marguerite; in short, to all the saints in heaven; she

* Neue Propheten: Drei Historitch Politiche Kirchenbilder. Die Jungfrau von Orleans von Dr. Karle Hase, Professor Universitat Jena. Leipzig. 1851, p. 84, &c.

entreated Jean Massieu to bring her a cross, and an Englishman who was present made one with a stick that he held in his hands; they presented it to her, she took it, kissed it devoutly, aud put it to her heart. They even brought her the cross from the church, which she kissed and embraced with abundance of tears. On the pile, when she descended from the ladder, she was still accompanied by the Frere Martin Ladvenu, who warned her to think of her salvation. The Bishop of Beauvais, and some of the canons of Rouen, advanced to that part of the ladder on which she stood in order to see her; and as the executioner was about to seize upon her, she said, in a loud voice, to the Bishop of Beauvais: "Evêque, je meurs par vous .... Si vous m'aviez mise aux prisons d'Eglise, ceci ne fût pas advenu." .... "Que j'aie bien fait, mon Roi n'y est pour rien; ce n'est pas lui qui m'a conseillée." The executioner then seized on the prisoner, without giving time for a word on the part of the secular judge. The chief magistrate of Rouen only said to the hangman, "menez-là, menez-là;" all the spectators, even the English, shed tears. The Bishop of Beauvais, who saw all the assistants crying, could not help himself shedding some tears. The people shuddered to see the cruel sufferings that they inflicted upon this virtuous girl.

In the midst of her torments, the abbè Du Fresnoy observes, she bore witness to the certainty of her convictions of the reality of her visions: crying

aloud—"Oui, mes voix étaient de Dieu, mes voix ne m'ont pas trompée!"*

The executioner manifested his astonishment that he could not succeed in burning her heart, notwithstanding the fierce fire that was around it. At length the English ordered it to be thrown into the river with the remainder of her ashes."†

"En face de la mort," dit Quicherat, "la pauvre fille soutint plus fermement que jamais le fait de ses apparitions: mais humiliée devant ses juges par l'espoir d'obtenir d'eux la communion, obsédée de leurs raisonnements, ne sachant elle-même comment accorder un espoir de délivrance où l'avaient entretenue ses voix avec la nécessité de mourir dressée inévitablement devant elle, elle admit un moment que son sublime instinct avait pu la tromper. Je m'empresse d'ajouter que, dans la méditation qui suivit l'accomplissement de ses devoirs religieux, un trait de lumière traversa son esprit et lui permit enfin de concilier ce qui avait fait la foi de sa vie avec ce qui faisait le scrupule des hommes. On l'entendit s'écrier dans les flammes que ses voix ne l'avaient pas déçue.‡ Son confesseur, qui nous instruit de

* Quod voces quas habuerat, erant a Deo . . . nec credebat per easdem voces fuisse deceptam."—Notices des mss., iii. 489.

† L'Abbe Langlet du Fresnoy, Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc. Part i.

‡ "Dixit et confessa est quod ipsa cognoscebat quod per voces et apparitiones, . . . decepta fuerat, quoniam dictæ voces promiserant eidem Johannæ quod liberaretur et expediretur a carceribus, et bene percipiebat contrarium."—*Dépos. de Martin Ladvenu,*

cela, est précisément de ceux qui avaient témoigné de la parole contraire prononcée le matin; et M. Michelet, le premier qui ait admis la possibilité de cette contradiction, l'a marveilleusement expliquée: 'Elle accepta la mort pour la délivrance promise; elle n'entendit plus le salut au sens matériel, comme elle avait fait jusque-là; elle vit clair enfin, et sortant des ombres, elle obtint ce que manquait encore de lumiere et de Saintetè.'"*

At the place of execution, we are told by Professor Hase, "many persons proclaimed aloud that she died for her legitimate sovereign, and was a martyr." John Trassart, secretary to the King of England, said, on his way from the execution, "We are all lost, we have killed a saint whose soul is in the hands of God." The executioner, full of terror, said to the Maid's confessor, "God will not grant me pardon for what I have done to that holy young woman."

Whenever those concerned in her doom were overtaken by any misfortune, the people recognised and blessed the justice of God. The Maid of Orleans led France back to the path of victory in which the

t. i. p. 478. Même témoignage de la part de Pierre Morice, Jean Toutmouillé, Jacques le Camus, Thomas de Courcelles, Nicolas Loiselleur.—*Ibid.* p. 480, 481, 482, 483, 484.

"Usque ad finem vitæ suæ manutenuit et asseruit quod voces quas habuerat erant a Deo, . . . nec credebat per easdem voces fuisse deceptam."—*Dépos. de Martin Ladvenu*, t. iii. p. 170.

† Michelet, Hist. de France.

country incessantly advanced, although somewhat retarded by the indolence of the King. In the sixth year after her death, Charles VII. entered Paris. In 1449, Rouen fell into the hands of the French; and eventually the banner of the lilies waved on the ramparts of Calais, and France was free again. The honour of France was pledged to vindicate the memory of Jean d'Arc; but, in her downfall, too great a number of men of consideration in science and religion were implicated, so that the legal restoration of her good name could not be easily accomplished. On the one side, France owed to herself this atonement. On the other, eminent churchmen must of necessity in reversing her sentence have acknowledged it had been unjust. The popular voice, however, proclaimed the triumph of her cause, and popular belief would have it that a dove was seen to fly from the pile where she suffered! Others, seeking comfort in that sentiment which inclined to elevate the sober sadness of her fate into something more wonderful, talked of deliverance at the last moment, and converted the Maid into a second Iphigenia. This idea was turned to advantage by a pretender after the taking of Rouen. Charles VIII. ordered a preliminary revision of the proceedings, and at last the applications of the French King obtained a favourable hearing from Rome. Calixtus III. commissioned, as judges, some French bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, to inquire into the legality of the proceedings against the Pucelle. Before them appeared the aged mother of the Maid of Orleans,

to demand justice for the memory of her ill-used child. As many of the former witnesses as yet survived were examined, with the circumspection peculiar to canonical proceedings, and in 1456 the Archbishop of Rheims pronounced judgment. Leaving to the Spirit of God, who breathes where He wills the decision upon her visions. The twelfth article of accusation was ordered to be withdrawn from the acts of the *Procès* as fallacious; the condemnation was declared invalid, on account of numerous violations of justice, and the memory of Joan of Arc, called the Maid of Orleans, was declared clear of all opprobrium; and, as a perpetual memorial of the vindication of her fame, the erection of a cross was ordered on the spot where she was executed. Two years afterwards, the citizens of Orleans placed on their bridge a brazen monument. At the foot of the cross was represented the dolorous Mother with the body of her divine Son, on one side in a kneeling posture the King Charles, on the other Joan of Arc, both in full armour, except the helmets, which are placed on the ground near them. Mutilated in the religious wars, then removed, this monument, in 1792, was cast into cannon. But, on the site of the monument, the city of Orleans, when the storm of revolution had passed over, erected a statue of the Maid of Orleans in metal. The royal artist of the house of Orleans has, in the sweet image of her heroic countrywoman and namesake, given us a poem in marble. But the Maid of Orleans has never been

a saint with the people of France. The genius of that nation during a century had its highest development in a poet who dared to degrade her memory to the lowest level. (Voltaire's genius was debased by its lubricity and scepticism in regard to all things of an heroic nature). Shakspeare's genius was cramped by the prejudice traditions of his countrymen. A German poet first sang the legend of the maiden heroine, and proclaimed her pure and holy, in the exalted strains of poetic inspiration.*

"Grand pitié!" s'écrie Etienne Pasquier, "jamais personne ne secourut la France si à propos et si hereusement que ceste Pucelle et jamais memoire de femme ne fut plus dechirée que la sienne."

It is clear from the latest declarations of the heroine before her judges, that she expected to the last deliverance from her enemies through the aid of supernatural guardians and protectors:

"Oportebit semel quod ego sim liberata." T. i. p. 88. "Ipsæ (voces) dixerunt mihi quod essem liberata; sed nescio diem neque horam." *Ibid.*, p. 94. "Respond que saincte Katherine luy a dit qu'elle auroit secours, et qu'elle ne scait se ce sera à estre délivrée de la prison, ou, quant elle seroit au jugement, s'il y viendroit aucun trouble, par quel moyen elle pourroit estre délivrée, et pense que ce soit ou l'un ou l'autre." *Ibid.*, p. 155.†

"The Bishop of Beauvais," it is observed by Du

* Professor Karl Hase. Neue Propheten, pp. 92, &c.

† Quicherat Recherches, &c. &c. &c.

Fresnoy, "was so strongly persuaded of his own injustice, that thirteen days after the execution of Jeanne d'Arc, that is to say, on the 12th of June, 1431, seeing that the whole city of Rouen, and even the English revolted against him, he exacted and obtained letters of justification for the part he had taken in those proceedings from the King of England. But against what accuser did he provide when he obtained these letters of justification?"

"Unfortunately for the Bishop these royal letters could neither avail him with the Divinity, or with posterity; the impartial judges of the actions of all men, even the greatest. Where would justice be if those to whom its administration is confided, at the conclusion of each criminal process in matters of crime against the state or of the king, were obliged to exact similar letters of indemnity?"

Several of those who have written of Jeanne d'Arc, as well as Professor Hase, have commented on the inconsistency of the Bishop of Beauvais, who, in the course of three hours, performed two acts in direct contradiction. He declared Jeanne d'Arc duly excommunicated, being heretical, relapsed, obstinate, and idolatrous; qualifications which could not be otherwise considered than indicative of a state of enmity with God, of guilt that involves the loss of salvation. And yet that Bishop consented that she should receive the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, without either absolving

her, or relieving her from the above-mentioned excommunication.

The permission given to Jeanne to receive the sacraments on the day of her death, has been commented on by several of the biographers of the heroine, as a proof of the inconsistency of her judges who condemned her as a heretic, a sorceress, and an impious impostor.

But Quicherat has shewn, that the decretals relating to the punishment of heresy sanctioned the administration of the sacraments in similar cases. One of them in reference to relapsed heretics says:

"S'ils se repentent après leur condamnation, et que les signes de leur repentir soient manifestes, on ne peut leur refuser les sacrements de pénitence et d'eucharistie, en tant qu'il les demanderont avec humilité." *

Let us try to realize the various views that have been taken of this strange and most eventful history.

"Une enfant," dit Michelet, "de douze (treize) ans, une toute jeune fille, confondant la voix de son cœur avec la voix du ciel, conçoit l'idée étrange, improbable, absurde, si l'on veut, d'exécuter la chose que les hommes ne peuvent plus faire, de sauver son pays. Elle couve cette dée pendant six (quatre) ans sans la confier à personne; elle n'en dit rien même à sa mère, rien à nul confesseur. Sans nul appui de prêtre ou de parents, elle marche tout ce

* Sextus decretalium, lib. v. tit. i. c. iv.

temps seule avec Dieu dans la solitude de son grand dessein. Elle attend qu'elle ait dix-huit ans, et alors immuable, elle l'exécute malgré les siens et malgré tout le monde. Elle traverse la France ravagée et déserte, les routes infestées de brigands; elle s'impose à la cour de Charles VII., se jette dans la guerre; et dans les camps qu'elle n'a jamais vus, dans le combats rien ne l'étonne; elle plonge intrépide au milieu des épées; blessée toujours, découragée jamais, elle rassure les vieux soldats, entraîne tout le peuple qui devient soldat avec elle, et personne n'ose plus avoir peur de rien. Tout est sauvé! La pauvre fille, de sa chair pure et sainte, de ce corps délicat et tendre, a émoussé le fer, brisé l'épée ennemie, couvert de son sein le sein de la France.

"La récompense, la voici. Livrée en trahison, outragée des barbares, tentée des pharisiens qui essayent en vain de la prendre par ses paroles, elle résiste à tout en ce dernier combat, elle monte au-dessus d'elle-même, éclate en paroles sublimes, qui feront pleurer éternellement..... Abandonnée et de son roi et du peuple qu'elle a sauvés, par le cruel chemin de flammes, elle revient dans le sein de Dieu. Elle n'en fonde pas moins sur l'échafaud le droit de la conscience, l'autorité de la voix intérieure." *

The step taken by Charles VII. to annul the iniquitous Procès of 1430, by his avowal to the

* Jeanne d'Arc. Par J. Michelet. Histoire de France, tome 5.

Court of Rome, was for the vindication of his own honour. Perhaps some compunctious feelings of a troubled conscience may have been mingled with his selfish motives, and the vindication of the fame of Jeanne d'Arc may have been a matter of some moment to him.

He ordered the necessary preliminary inquiries to be initiated in 1450, twenty years after the death of Jeanne d'Arc, but it was not till 1455 he obtained the acquiescence of the Pontiff Calixtus III. in the proposed Procès de Rehabilitation.

The opinion which the great mass of the people held of the piety and extraordinary gifts of Jeanne d'Arc during her life, is clearly shewn in the excesses, even of their veneration, which on the trial were brought forward in evidence against her: although she constantly, in her calm and collected moments, denied all claims to consideration for her acts, and referred all the merit and honour of them to God alone.*

Nider, the cotemporary of Jeanne d'Arc, notwithstanding the general tendencies of the inquisitor to consider all vehement suspicions of sorcery, or accusations of that crime, "confirmation strong as

* "Multi in præsentia ejus eam adoraverunt ut sanctam, et adhuc adorant in absentia, ordinando in reverentiam ejus missas et collectas .... elevant imagines et repræsentationes ejus in basilicis sanctorum, ac etiam in plumbo et alio metallo repræsentationes ipsius super se deferunt, prout de memoriis et repræsentationibus sanctorum per Ecclesiam canonizatorum, solet fieri." ART. 52 *du Requisitoire*, t. i. p. 290.

proofs of holy writ," feels himself constrained to bear testimony to the extraordinary powers and achievements of the heroine: "While the forces of the King of England, and the Duke of Burgundy, pressed most heavily on France, Johanna, with her sovereign, constantly appeared mounted like a warrior: future and many propitious things she predicted, and achieved many wonderful things, which have filled not only France but all the kingdoms of Christendom with astonishment." *

Of the sincerity of her religious feelings and professions of fervent zeal for the honour of God and his saints there can be no doubt. She loved to frequent places of worship. She attended at mass every day unless she was prevented by some particular occupations. She confessed and received the sacrament of the Lord's supper frequently, and with such an abundance of tears, that those who were present were greatly moved. She never deliberately attributed the success of any event to herself, but took care to refer all to God as the principal source of any good that emanated from her. When she was with the army she was accustomed to assemble all the ecclesiastics who served as almoners or chaplains to the troops, to proceed to the nearest church, to pray to God, and chaunt hymns in honour of the Blessed Virgin. She induced even some of the General Officers to frequent the sacraments, and to abandon vicious habits and profligate courses.†

* Nider, Formie Malef. Decep. Ap. Mal. Malef. tom. i. p. 511.

† Déposition du Sieur Pierre Compaing.

Her love of purity was so great that even those who approached her felt its influence, and it was stated by persons who had ample opportunities of observing her, that her personal attractions, which were of no ordinary kind, inspired those who came in contact with her with no sentiments that were calculated to give offence or uneasiness to her.*

In her private life she was a person of wonderful simplicity of manners and conduct; but in matters that related to war she was no longer the same person. She then ceased to practise that reserve and restraint on the natural ardour of her temperament, and warmth of her feelings, which never left her on other occasions. But there is a degree of wilfulness in her humour which was manifested on many occasions when she was excited in action or irritated by opposition, contradiction, or want of co-operation, when it was essential to her plans and projects. An instance of this, of a remarkable kind, occurred when she discovered that some important information was withheld from her by the Count Dunois, better known as the Bastard d'Orleans; and she electrified the Count with a sally of no ordinary vehemence: "*Bastard, Bastard, au nom de Dieu je te commande que tu me le fasse savoir; car s'il passe sans que je le sache, je te promets que je te ferai oter la tête.*"

In her several examinations it appears by the Procès that she was enabled to give replies to her

* Déposition du Duc d'Alençon, du Comte de Dunois, et du Sieur Daulon.

judges with such consummate prudence, sagacity, and sharpness of wit, that even those judges on different occasions expressed their surprise at the shrewdness, strong sound sense, and remarkable intelligence manifested in her answers to their interrogatories.*

And it must be observed that those unscrupulous judges interrogated her upon most difficult points, and put very complicated questions to her, and sometimes at random, and without any connexion with preceding inquiries. Oftentimes several of them would speak at the same moment with the view of deafening her and of causing her to vary in her answers, or to equivocate, hoping by these means to derive some advantage from her embarrassment.†

She had no extraordinary talent or enlightenment, or capacity of an unusual kind except for military operations. Admirable in her just resolutions, and firm in having them executed, she animated by her glowing words and heroic deeds, the courage of the soldiers, who marched under her orders with more confidence than they did under those of generals of great experience in military operations.

The learned Spanish Jesuit, Mariana, in his History of Spain (Ed. Par. 4to. 1725, tom. 4. p. 251), says, under date 1429, "The affairs of France could not find themselves in a more wretched predi-

* Déposition de Jean Marchal et autres.

† L'Abbé du Fresnoy, Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, p. 115.

cament. The English, constant and irreconcileable enemies of the French, had got possession of Paris, and the most important provinces of the kingdom. Charles VII., King of France, knew not in what quarter to have recourse for succour; in the extremity in which he found himself in danger, however, of losing all that yet remained to him, he addressed himself on all sides to neighbouring princes for succour; and in the month of March, Recharque (ambassador of France), whom he had sent on a mission to the King of Arragon, arrived at Barcelona."

The King of Arragon, however, was in no condition to assist him; the embassy was an utter failure. There can be no plainer proof that Charles VII. at this juncture was on the brink of ruin; that he had sought help in every direction, and at the moment when all his efforts and hopes were frustrated, Jeanne d'Arc made her appearance, promising him deliverance from all his enemies.

Shakspeare makes the Pucelle philosophise on the evanescent nature of military glory on the eve of her first onslaught on the enemies of France at Orleans, when she declares her mission to the Archbishop of Rheims and Dunois.

"Assign'd am I to be the English scourge."

But notwithstanding the full conviction of her success, she estimates the renown she is to gain at its true value:

* Mariana, Hist. del Espana, liv. xx.

"Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
Till by broad spreading, it disperse to nought."*

I have not attempted to set forward Jeanne d'Arc in this memoir as a person of vast intellectual powers: or who combined all the great moral qualities of a perfect being of the first order of spiritualized excellence. She possessed several moral qualities indeed of the highest order, but even these were not unassociated with some defects of character, and among these I would notice a spice of self-complacency, and a certain waywardness and wilfulness that might be expected to be found in a petted, froward clever girl of an original impulsive turn of mind, and a resolute and daring disposition.

Of the wilfulness above referred to we have some remarkable instances during her confinement, when under examination, and previously also to her imprisonment.

Of this description we must consider the impulse which led to her abandonment in prison of the female attire she had previously resumed: the vivacity, and something more of her responses on particular occasions while under examination: and the undisguised disdain she manifested (to say the least of it) imprudently and inopportunely in her communication with persons who were in any way repugnant to her. For example, a friar of Limousin, named

* Hen. VI. Part i. act i. sc. 2.

Seguin, a professor of theology at the University of Poictiers, whose favourable opinion it was of much importance to her to propitiate and his good offices to secure, she made no difficulty in outraging at the very moment that her claims to inspiration were the subject of inquiry at Poictiers; and this friar one of the important persons who were to report to the King the result of that investigation.

The Chronicle of Jeanne d'Arc tells us that this friar was a morose person, "bien aigre homme." When he asked her, in his strange Limousin accent, in what language one of the angels whom she had seen in a vision spoke to her? Jeanne said, "avec un peu trop de vivacité, Meilleure que le votre." This put the Doctor of Theology in a passion, and he manifested his choler, by asking the pious girl if she believed in God,—Crois tu en Dieu?

Heurter, in his History of Pope Innocent III., has given expression to a great truth, which often, no doubt, is found enveloped in a multiplicity of words in many works, but never perhaps was so well described, and so concisely and precisely expressed in a single paragraph:—

"Il n'y a point de veritable grandeur seulement intellectuelle sans en etre en meme temps morale: ce n'est que la, ou toutes les deux se font equilibre que l'homme se montre rèelment superieur."*

* Histoire du Pape Innocent III., par F. Heurter, President du Consistoire a Schaffhouse. Traduit de l'Allemande, Paris, 1838, tome iii. p. 402.

Her personal appearance was prepossessing or repulsive, as those of extreme opinions, who treat of her history, were disposed to regard her as a heroine devoted to her country, or an impostor addicted to sorcery; a woman who did honour to France, strenuously and successfully in its defence, or one who inflicted great injuries on England, and frustrated in less than one year the work of three centuries of conquest and invasion.

Grafton, the English chronicler, assures us that Jeanne d'Arc, went "a great space a chamberlain in a common hostrey, and was a rampe of such boldness that she would course horses and ride them to water, and do things that other young maydens both abhorred and were ashamed to do: yet, as some say, whether it were because of her foule face that no man would desire it, either because she had made a vowe to live chaste, she kept *so*," &c.

Old Grafton probably concluded that Jeanne d'Arc must have been foule faced from the fact of her being, as he piously imagined, "An enchantresse, an organe of the devill sent from Sathan to blind the people and bring them in unbelief."†

Shakspeare makes the Pucelle declare that her complexion was naturally dark, or had been darkened by her occupations:

"Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,

* Grafton's Chronicle. Reprint 1809, in 4to. vol. ii. p. 580

† Grafton's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 589.

God holy Mother deigned to appear to me,
And in a vision full of majesty,
Will'd me to leave my base vocation,
And free my country from calamity."*

But then with inspiration beauty appears to have come—and with it, as we subsequently find, would seem to have departed.

"And where as I was black and swart before
With those clear rays which she infused on me,
That beauty I am blessed with which you see."†

With Talbot (in the same play) she is "a witch," "devil, or devil's dam."

With the Duke of York, when she is a captive, a hideous looking sorceress.

"See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows."

And a little later, the noble Earl addresses her:

"Thou foul accursed minister of hell!"‡

A remarkable poem, entitled, "De Gestis Joannæ Virginis Franciæ," &c. by Valerandus Varanius, under date 1516, extending to 1500 lines, is inserted in the work edited by Ravisius Textor, "De Memorabilibus et Claris Mulieribus," chiefly compiled by Jacobus de Bergoma, If Varanius did not allow his poetic genius to run away with his veracity and fidelity as a narrator, Jeanne d'Arc must have been a paragon of female beauty and comeliness of form.

Jacobus de Bergoma, (in his description of the

* Hen. VI. Part I. act i. sc. 2. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

Maid of Orleans) who derived his information from an Italian gentleman who had seen the Pucelle, and had an official knowledge of her history, says, "The stature of the Pucelle was somewhat short, her face of a rustic cast, and her hair black, but her whole form full of vigour. She preserved her purity unstained throughout her life, and in the custody of Piety its security was well placed. Her discourse was sufficiently mild and gentle, though provincial, 'ex more fœminarum illius patriæ.' Her manners and conduct were most decorous; her common sense was no less remarkable than her rectitude of mind; whether these were the results of natural endowments, or of whatever instruction she received. Her prudence in council was consummate and vigilant in regarding every question in all its bearings.*

"La sorcière," dit Michelet, "avait dix-huit ans c'était une belle fille† et fort désirable, assez grands de taille, la voix douce et pénétrante.

"Ceux qui furent interrogés," dit Quicherat, "sur la Pucelle, et qui parlèrent par occasion de son tempérament, la représentent comme bien conformée et d'une santé robuste.‡ Nous savons encore que ses

* De Memorabilibus, Muliebris et Clavis. Par. fol. 1521, p. 139.

† Mammas, quæ pulchræ erant." Dépositions, *Notices des mss.*, t. iii. p. 373. M. Lebrun de Charmettes voudrait en faire une beauté accomplie.

‡ "Non obstant qu'elle fust jeune fille, belle et bien formée." *Déposition de Jean d'Aulon*, Procès, t. iii. p. 219. "Bien com-

formes, sa voix, sa sensibilité étaient celles d'une jeune fille.* Il n'y a donc absolument que son aptitude à endurer les travaux et les privations, qui puisse faire dire, sans crainte de se tromper, qu'au physique, elle n'était point comme les autres femmes."†

We have a vivid portraiture of the heroine equipped for the field, "en preux chevalier," given by a young nobleman in a letter to his relatives, who had visited the Pucelle immediately after the King had provided for her "apparel," her suite, and appointments.‡

passée de membres et forte," *Chronique de la Pucelle, ibid.* t. iv. p. 205. "Erat brevi quidem statura rusticanaque facie et nigro capillo; sed toto corpore prævalida." *Témoignage du Lombard Guglielmo Guascho,* dans Philippe de Bergame, *ibid.* p. 523.

* "Aliquando videbat mammas ejus, quæ pulchræ erant." *Déposition du Duc d'Alençon,* t. iii. p. 100. "Et dit en assez voix de femme: Vous, les prêtres, et gens d'église, etc." *Gui de Laval,* t. v. p. 108. "Vocem mulieris ad instar habet gracilem..... abundantia lacrimarum manat." *Perceval de Boulainvilliers,* t. v. p. 120. "Flebat multotiens cum magnis lacrimis. *Le Duc d'Alençon,* l. c.

† "Inaudibilis laboris et in armorum portatione et sustentatione adeo fortis, ut per sex dies die noctuque indesinenter et complete maneat armata." *Perceval de Boulainvilliers,* t. v. p. 120. "Mirabantur omnes armati quomodo tantum poterat stare super equum." *Déposition de Simon Charles,* t. iii. p. 118. "De sobrietate a nullo vivente superabatur." *Déposition de Dunois,* t. iii. p. 15.

‡ "Et fit ladite Pucelle très-bonne chère à mon frère et à moy, armée de toutes pièces, sauve la teste, et la lance en la main. Et après que nous feusmes descendus à Selles, j'allay à son logis la voir, et fit venir le vin, et me dit qu'elle m'en feroit bien tost boire à Paris, et semble chose toute divine de son fait, et de la voir, et

Her small white standard *fleur-de-lisé* with a representation of the Deity holding a globe in his hands, and the figure of an angel on either side, was an object she took more delight in than her sword.

"Je ne veux pas me servir de mon épée pour tuer personne;"* disait elle, et elle ajoutait que, quoiqu'elle aimât son épée, elle aimait "quarante fois plus" son étendard.

An ancient chronicler, on the same subject, observes: "Elle semblait tout au mois un ange, une créature étrangère à tous les besoins physiques. Elle restait parfois tout un jour à cheval, sans descendre, sans manger ni boire, sauf le soir un peu de pain et de vin mêlé d'eau." (Voy. les diverses dépositions et la *Chronique de la Pucelle*, éd. Quicherat.)

de l'oïr..... Et la veis monter à cheval armée toute en blanc, sauf la teste, une petite hache en sa main, sur un grand coursier noir..... et lors se tourna vers l'huis de l'église, qui estoit bien prochain, et dist en assez voix de femme: *Vous, les prêtres et gens d'église, faites processions et prières à Dieu.* Et lors se retourna à son chemin en disant: *Tirez avant, tirez avant,* son estendard ployé que portoit un gracieux paige et avoit sa hache petite en la main." Lettre de Guy de Laval à ses mère et aïeule. Labbe, *Alliance chronol.*, p. 672.

* "Nolebat uti ense suo, nec volebat quemquam interficere." Procès ms. de Révision, déposition de frère Séguin.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE INSPIRATIONS OF JEANNE D'ARC—IMPOSTORS ASSUMING THE CHARACTER, OR PRETENDING TO RESUME THE MISSION OF JEANNE D'ARC AFTER THE DEATH OF THE HEROINE.

When the ecclesiastical examiners at Poictiers said to the Pucelle, "God wills not that faith should be put in your words, unless you shew their truth by a sign," she replied: "Je ne suis point venue à Poitiers pour faire des signes ou miracles; mon signe sera de faire lever le siége d'Orléans. Qu'on me donne des hommes d'armes, peu ou beaucoup, et j'irai."*

Here is a clear annunciation of her consciousness of power to effect an object, which no amount of force at that time at the disposal of Charles VII. would have justified the best of his generals to propose to attempt. There is no ambiguity in the language; no distrust in the ability to perform what is undertaken; no shadow of doubt in the result. And what is promised to be done, in due time is performed to the letter.

* *Notices des mss.*, déposition de frère Séguin, t. iii. p. 349.

To say that all this is easily explicable, to call in pathology to enable us to arrive at the solution of a problem that hardly seems to come within the domain of physical science, is what I cannot do conscientiously; though with a very strong desire to consider this case in the same light I have regarded many other cases referred to in these volumes, in some respects of an analogous character.

If this occurrence at Poictiers was a solitary one there would be no difficulty in dealing with it. But it is one of numerous occurrences of the same marvellous description.

If, however, it were to be argued from these premises that Jeanne d'Arc was, in the common acceptation of the words, "divinely inspired," there still would be as much difficulty to surmount as in the case above referred to.

Were her visions and revelations the result of divine inspiration, from the time of the announcement of her mission at Poictiers, and the sanction given to it by the ecclesiastical authorities and commission of investigation at that time, it will be said we ought to expect in all her subsequent acts and enterprises in the accomplishment of that mission, uniform manifestations of the same divine inspiration and guidance tending to a successful issue.

But Jeanne d'Arc was unsuccessful in several of her later enterprises; she failed in them where success was not only confidently expected but boldly predicted by her.

She was wounded many times in her attempts to accomplish that mission.

She acted on one occasion without the sanction of those inspirations—ses voix: and on one signal occasion in defiance of them, during her captivity in the fortress of Beaurevoir.

When she leaped from the summit of that tower, from a height not much under sixty feet, death being then a far more probable result than deliverance, and when she did so not in obedience to any supernatural commands, or under the influence of any intellectual impulse, must we not conclude that her reason was disordered at that time.

As to uniform manifestation of divine inspiration in all the acts and enterprises of those persons, whose supernatural gifts and influences we are bound to believe in, I think it will be found that uniformity of operation of that kind, in every act and enterprise of theirs, is not to be expected. In the accomplishment of the grand object of the mission given to them, there will and must be a concurrence, and consistency of action in all their main efforts for its promotion.

But there is nothing in those gifts, however exalted they may be, which takes the inspired person out of the category of human beings, and which renders his nature infallible and divested of all infirmities. The grand objects which Jeanne d'Arc claimed for her alleged mission was the deliverance of Orleans from the enemies of her country, the

consecration of her Sovereign at Rheims, the deliverance of France from its invaders, and their ultimate expulsion.

These main objects may be said to have been accomplished by her. The defeat of the English at Orleans, and the triumphant expedition to Rheims, and attainment of the object of it, involved the final result of the deliverance of France, and within the time which had been predicted by her on her trial.

Her minor failures and the fact of her having been wounded many times, and captured, do not militate against the successful accomplishment of those main objects of her alleged mission.

To argue that such failures and mischances did so would be an absurdity, many of the prophets of whom we read in Scripture were stoned and captured, and imprisoned and put to death.

Lastly, it will be objected to the mission of Jeanne d'Arc that it had not the characteristics of a divine origin, inasmuch as it was not in defence of great religious interests, it was not to establish or sustain a creed, a hierarchy, or an alliance perhaps between Church and State.

It is quite sufficient, in defence of the mission of Jeanne d'Arc, if it can be shewn, that its object was to save a desolated nation from all the horrors attendant on invasions, raids and rapine, that had been endured for upwards of three centuries.

In respect to the visions of Jeanne d'Arc the following quotations and references will be found to embrace all that is remarkable in those phenomena.

"Le fait de *voix*," dit Quicherat, "qu'elle entendait, tient une si grande place dans son existence, qu'on peut dire qu'il en était devenu la loi. En dehors de la vie commune, elle ne disait ni ne faisait rien qui ne lui eût été conseillé par ces voix. Tantôt les invoquant, tantôt interpellée par elles, elle recevait leur direction plusieurs fois par jour, surtout aux heures où sonnaient les offices.* Sa perception était favorisée par les bruits mesurés et lointains, comme celui des cloches,† celui du vent dans les arbres ;‡ au contraire, un tumulte désordonné con-

* Apercus Nouveaux, p. 47.

† "Dixit Johanna quod non est dies quin audiat illam vocem, et etiam bene indiget." *Procès*, t. i. p. 57. "Interrogata qua hora, hesterno die, ipsam vocem audiverat: respondit quod ter in illo die ipsam audiverat, semel de mane, semel in vesperis et tertia vice cum pulsaretur pro *Ave Maria* de sero. Et multoties audit eam pluries quam dicat. . . Heri de mane cum illa vox venit ad eam... ipsa dormiebat, et vox excitavit eam." *Procès*, t. i. p. 61 et 62. "Sæpe veniunt sine vocando; et aliis vicibus, nisi venirent, bene cito ipsa requireret a Deo quod eas mitteret." *Ibid.* p. 127. "Dixit etiam quod fuisset mortua, nisi fuisset revelatio quæ confortat eam quotidie." *Ibid.* p. 88.

‡ "Dicebat dicta Johanna quod audiverat voces, maxime hora completorii, quando campanæ pulsantur; et etiam de mane, dum pulsantur campanæ." *Dépositions de Pierre Morice et Jean Toutmouillé*, t. i. p. 480 et 481. De là son goût pour le son des cloches: "Habebat illum morem, in hora vesperorum seu crepusculi noctis, omnibus diebus, quod se retrahebat ad ecclesiam et faciebat pulsari campanas quasi per dimidiam horam." *Déposition de Dunois*, t. iii. p. 149. "Johanna promiserat eidem testi dare lanas ad finem ut diligentiam haberet pulsandi completorias." *Déposition du marguillier de Domremy*, t. ii. p. 413.

fondait les sons dans son ouïe, et lui faisait perdre beaucoup des paroles qui lui étaient adressées."*

Calmeil, in a spirit of candid criticism well worthy of imitation in our own country, observes: "It enters not into my intentions to justify the cruelty of the English policy, and to deny that fear, hatred, and, above all, a spirit of vengeance did not contribute to render the enemies of the Maid of Orleans altogether implacable; but I must say also that Jeanne d'Arc, without ceasing to belong to private life, would have been exposed, nevertheless, to perish by fire: and one perceives that, such being the case, the judges who condemned her to the most cruel punishment would not have hesitated to find her guilty, after having heard her avowals, and heard the recapitulation of the wonders which she had performed, having previously predicted them. We must bear in mind what has been already said of the

"Dum erat in campis et ipsa audiebat campanam pulsare, ipsa flectebat genua." *Déposition d'un laboureur de Domremy*, t. ii. p. 420.

* "Sæpe etiam dixit venisse ad eam sanctum Gabrielem archangelum cum beato Michaele, ac etiam interdum mille millia angelorum. . . . Ad hunc articulum. . . . respondet. . . . quantum ad hoc quod promotor proponit de mille millibus angelorum, non recordatur quod dixerit, videlicet de numero." *Procès*, t. i. p. 283.

"Confitebatur habuisse apparitiones quæ veniebant ad eam quandoque cum magna multitudine et in minima quantitate sive in minimis rebus, alias figuram aut speciem non declarando." *Déposition de Toutmouillé*, Procès, t. i. p. 481.

doctrines of those times (in relation to supposed sorcery). All, or nearly all, the judges must have been expected to believe, in France as well as in England, that Jeanne d'Arc was in fact found to be very frequently in communication with supernatural beings, and that the wonderful success of her enterprises could only be attributed to her powerful protectors.

"It would be, then, natural to ask if the Pucelle might not deceive herself, or wilfully deceive others, by asserting it was saints and angels who assisted her by their counsels and encouragement; and people would be tempted to inquire if evil spirits had not placed themselves at the service of Jeanne d'Arc to aid her in exterminating the English armies.

"No one doubted in 1431 that the demons could eagerly charge themselves with, in certain circumstances and in consideration of certain conditions, the accomplishment of such a task (as the extermination of an army of foreign invaders). How many precautions were not taken on the part of the French to assure themselves that Jeanne d'Arc was not given to magic, when the question came to be considered to accept the aid of her arm?

"First, it was required that ecclesiastics should proceed to Vaucouleurs (the native town of the Pucelle) to make inquiries into her morals, her manner of life, her religious practices. She was interrogated as to the appearance of the persons who were

in the habit of presenting themselves to her regard. She was watched night and day, at her own request, to be assured that she did not give herself up to communication with evil spirits."

All these investigations, even those of matrons, appointed to follow up the preceding inquiries, terminated in establishing the virtuous life and conversation of Jeanne d'Arc.

"But if the blood of Jeanne d'Arc," observes Calmeil, in conclusion, "was shed by unworthy hands, we must, nevertheless, bear in mind that barbarous theory which had caused the nature of certain morbid conditions of the mental faculties to be ignored, and seems to have been adopted with the view of legitimatizing thousands of judicial murders."*

If we must believe that Calmeil's opinion in regard to the phenomena which the history of Jeanne d'Arc discloses be well founded, it still is not incompatible with an opinion that Plato has expressed in the Phædon, namely, that the intellect may be disordered to a certain extent, or with regard to its perceptions and conclusions in matters affecting trivial interests and personal concerns, but yet may be in a condition of such exaltation of an abnormal nature that its powers may transcend their ordinary limits when they are applied to subjects of vast moment.†

* De la Folie, tome 1, p. 133.

† "Persuadera-t-on (dit Calmeil) sans peine a ceux qui ont

If the opinions of those who attribute the enthusiasm and exaltation of the Maid of Orleans to a morbid condition of the mental faculties be well founded, theomania had one of its most illustrious and heroic victims in Jeanne d'Arc, and the exaltation of her noble ideas and the marvellous impulses and influences of that exaltation must be ascribed to that mixed kind of delirium which the disciple of Socrates speaks of, as "that most noble art by which the future is discovered," and which kind of madness, he tells us, "the ancients, who gave names to things, did not consider as disgraceful or a reproach;"* or of a kindred *enthusiasmos* to that divine fury which Plato likewise refers to: "There is a third possession and madness proceeding from the Muses, which seizes upon a tender and chaste soul, and rousing and inspiring it to the composition of odes and other species of poetry, by adorning the countless deeds of antiquity, instructs posterity."†

But the "divine fury" theory will not solve the

un fois senti l'admiration qui s'attache aux exploits de la Pucelle, que cette heroine, dont le coup d'œil est percant comme l'eclair, le jugement si droit, la volonte si ferme, l'execution si prompte, le courage si redoubtable, la repartie si eloquente et si noble, dont les vues sont si profondes et si sages, les conseils sont si utiles à sa patrie et à son roi n'avait plus l'entier profession de son bon sens? Jeanne d'Arc avait été saisie du transport de la theomanie." Folie, tome i. p. 128.

* Cary's translation of the Works of Plato. Ed. Bohn, 1848. Vol. i. p. 320.

† Ibid. p. 321.

problem of Jeanne d'Arc's inspiration, neither will that of the modern magicians and necromancers—the seers and sages of clairvoyance and spiritualism. In 1806, an advocate of animal magnetism, M. Theodore Bouys, published a work entitled, "Nouvelles Considerations sur Jeanne d'Arc puisées dans la Decouverte de la Clairvoyance instinctive de l'Homme (12mo. Par. 1806)." The object of the writer is to shew that all the phenomena of which we read in the history of Jeanne d'Arc are explicable on the ground of her being a clairvoyant; that she lost the gift of clairvoyance after she had conducted the King to Rheims, and at that point her mission had terminated; but that her powers as a clairvoyant might have been indefinitely extended by artificial means, had they been resorted to at the period above mentioned. M. Bouys maintains that Jeanne d'Arc was a simple somnambule endowed with a sixth sense, "ce sixieme sens magnetique qui opere tant des prodiges de clairvoyance," &c.

This "simple somnambule, and not a saint," was in a perpetual magnetic crisis, he affirms, from the day she departed from Vaucouleurs to the period of her return from Rheims after the King's consecration. The crisis was at its height at the time that she raised the siege of Orleans, and she became daily sensible of the dying out of the magnetic influence, as he considers, from the moment of the accomplishment of her mission at Rheims, the consecration of the King.

The Abbè Barthelemy, in his biography of the heroine, disposes of the theory of M. Bouys, in explanation of the phenomena connected with the career of Jeanne d'Arc, in a few words: "Je crois que le magnetisme peut produire le somnambulisme: mais je ne crois pas que le somnambulisme enfante autre chose que des souvenirs ou des hallucinations dans lesquelles il entre toujours plus ou moins de reminiscence."*

The same writer argues strenuously against "the modern philosophers," who assert that Jeanne d'Arc was the victim of hallucinations which were the result of a disordered mind. "These arrogant defenders of the exalted prerogatives of reason," says the Abbé, "explain away every thing that is extraordinary in the elevation of human nature by the supposition of insanity, as all things are explained in the comedy of the *Legataire* to the good man, Geronte, by the eternal refrain, 'c'est votre lethargie.' But madness is of an ancient date in the world, and known in it for a long time. How does it happen, then, that we have arrived at the 19th century before any doubts were entertained of the sanity of Jeanne d'Arc, and that the slightest suspicion never prevailed, either during the long examinations which the heroine underwent at Chinon or Poictiers, when she was *aux prises* with the doctors and the prelates of the Church; nor was discovered in any of the

* Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, par l'Abbè Barthelemi de Beauregard, tome ii. p. 417.

numerous relations which existed between her and persons of all classes in the course of her public career; nor, finally, in any of the prolonged interrogatories to which she was subjected on her trial, or in the sufferings she underwent in her captivity, or in the terrors that surrounded her at her condemnation? How did it happen that the insanity imputed to her was not revealed by some extravagances in her counsels, in the combats she engaged in, in the solemnities of the consecration at Rheims, in the midst of the preparations for her execution, in the horrors of agony which intervened between condemnation and death, and at her last moments, in the frightful torments at the stake? Poor philosophy," exclaims the Abbè, "which is always endeavouring to explain everything, and never explains anything!"*

"Poor philosophy," however, will not be silenced by sarcasms replete with eloquence. The Calmeils of France, the Connollys, Pritchards, and Winslows of England will not take it for granted that the absence of any suspicion of mental disorder in the 15th century, in the case of a person conversing familiarly with spiritual beings on subjects not of a spiritual nature, surrounded on fields of battle by myriads of little angels,† "thick as autumnal leaves

* Ibid. tome 2, p. 417.

† One very curious circumstance connected with her visions only came to be known in one of the latest of the examinations of Jeanne d'Arc. The angelic beings seen in her visions, she said,

iu Vallambrosa," or motes in sun-beams, is all-suffi cient evidence of that person's perfect sanity of mind at the time of the occurrence of these phenomena.

They will, probably, be more likely to find in the fact of the absence of such suspicion, a satisfactory proof that partial mental disease, of that kind especially which is called Theomania, was not understood in the 15th century, and only began to be investigated in a scientific manner towards the commencement of the 19th century.

They will refer the latest biographer of the heroine, the worthy Abbè Barthelemy, to the wards of Charenton and the Bicetre, of Hanwell and Bedlam, for instances of hallucinations of all the senses, which, in the 15th century would have been dealt with by the philosophy of the Inquisition as inspirations not from heaven, or visitations from it.

They would reply to the concluding questions of the Abbè, with regard to the state of mind of Jeanne d'Arc during her prolonged captivity, and the mental torture, day after day, during examination, inflicted on her by threescore of rabid theologians, furiously disposed against her; during her cruel sufferings after two condemnations, and the mortal terrors inspired by all the paraphernalia of the pile and the stake, and the formalities gone through,

were generally of extremely small dimensions, and in vast multitudes in point of numbers: "de très-petite dimension et en quantité infinie, comme si elle eût voulu exprimer quelque chose d'analogue à ces atomes qui tourbillonnent devant des yeux obscurcis par le vertige." Nouveaux Apercus. Quicherat, p. 52.

pending the solemnities that desecrated religion and made a mockery of justice, at the foot of the scaffold, those prolonged tortures of soul and mind, that the marvel would be if the victim of such torments had retained possession of her senses.

Judicial murder is only one of the many crimes against heaven and humanity which inquisitions and other similar tribunals, however they are called, have to answer for. The heinous crime of driving human beings mad by the terrors of their procedure is another, and perhaps a worse wickedness, which persecuted people have suffered at their hands.

It is a mere waste of generous sympathy with human suffering to expend eloquent and indignant words in defence of reason, and in proof of its being undisturbed, by the terrors of such tribunals. Such vain defences are made in ignorance of the limited powers of endurance of the mental as well as physical organization of the victims of that last degree of "oppression," which, we are told by divine authority, "driveth even wise men mad."

If the state of mental exaltation of Jeanne d'Arc previous to her captivity was one which rendered hallucinations of sight, sound, and hearing of frequent occurrence, nothing was wanting to give that abnormal condition a fixed character of permanent disease, but the terrors of the tribunal to which she was subjected.

But, previously to her captivity, I am not aware of any morbid peculiarity in her mental constitution

which should lead to the conclusion that her agency might not have been within the scope of divine Providence, for the accomplishment of a design whose aim was the deliverance of a nation from a foreign enemy, and the humiliation of its oppressors.

To come to this conclusion, it is not necessary to believe that Jeanne d'Arc had daily intercourse with saints and angels. It is only essential to believe in the justice of that design, and being of such a kind that it appeared to have been promoted by her, that her motives and actions corresponded to the exalted mission presumed to be assigned to her; that she believed in it; that the purity of her life was a guarantee for her integrity; and, finally, that she performed acts which served to attest her pretensions to powers not ordinarily given to persons of her age, sex, and condition.

There is a very remarkable passage relating to Jeanne d'Arc in Grafton's Chronicle of the History of England:

"This witch or manly woman, called the Mayde of God, the Frenchmen greatly extolled, alleging that by her Orleance was vitayled: by her King Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her the English men were oftentimes put back and overthrowne. O Lorde, what disprayse is this to the nobilitie of France? What blot is this to the French nation? What more rebuke can be imputed to a renowned nation than to affirm, write, and confesse that all these notable victories and

honourable conquests, that neither the King with his power, nor the nobilitie with their valiantness, nor the counsayle with their wit, and the commonaltie with their strength could compasse or obtain, were gotten and achieved by a shepherdes daughter, a chamberlein in a hostrie and a beggars brat," &c.*

It never entered into poor old Grafton's head that there was any "disprayse, blot," or "rebuke," incurred by the renowned English Prince, the Duke of Bedford, by being signally defeated and compelled to raise that siege of which he speaks, by that "shepherdes daughter."

It is impossible to read the passage that has been just quoted, and other passages to be found in the same old Chronicle, descriptive of the mighty efforts made by the Duke of Bedford to maintain the English dominion in France; and also of the pride and hauteur of the imperious Regent, the Duke of Bedford,† without feeling there was nothing irreconcileable with God's providence in the way of beating down that unbounded pride, of humbling too and putting an end to that insensate ambition and lust of dominion which prevailed in the English Court; and of rescuing France from the calamity that

* Grafton's Chronicle, 4to. 1809, vol. i. p. 589.

† In old Grafton's quaint phrascology the Duke of Bedford was "a prowde prince,"—"minding to have no peer,"—"sonne, brother and uncle to kings." The Duc de Bourgogne likewise in Grafton's estimation was a "prowde prince"—willing to have no superior.—Chronicle of the Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 602.

seemed then imminent of losing its nationality and dwindling into a province governed by a foreign power; and all this through the instrumentality of an humble illiterate low born peasant girl, with nothing in the eyes of the world to recommend her, being poor and living in obscurity, and remarkable only in a small circle in a remote hamlet for being good and pious, pure and simple.

Agents of this sort have been used by Divine Providence for great purposes in all times and in many regions of our globe. And if we presume to inquire how it comes to pass that Providence condescends to choose its instruments among the poor and humble, the weak and the unlearned, to overcome the proud and exalted, the strong and the wise in the wisdom of this world, we can only come to one conclusion, that the policy of God is not conformable to the policy of men, and that many things are consistent with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, which are not in accordance with our notions of the nature of heroic acts and human agencies. With the several scripture records of inspirations given to women for the accomplishment of great and good designs, the history and mystery of the visions of Jeanne d'Arc may possibly be found to be in nowise inconsistent.

Impostors assuming the character, or pretending to resume the mission of Jeanne d'Arc, after the death of the Heroine.

The contagion of the pretensions of Jeanne d'Arc to communication with angelic beings, and of her supposed supernatural mission, extended immediately after her death to other places. Two young girls of the vicinity of Paris set up as divinely appointed to continue the mission of the heroine of Vaucouleurs. The ecclesiastical authority interfered, they were arrested and proceeded against, and declared guilty of communication with evil spirits. One was burned, and the other escaped the flames by a recantation of her errors. Another heroine, "militairement equippèe armê de pied en cap," exhibited herself in all the public places of Cologne. She declared herself divinely commissioned to cause one of two pretenders to the episcopal throne of Treves, which was then contested, to be consecrated. This heroine had the good fortune to escape the fate of poor Jeanne d'Arc. She was only excommunicated. Ultimately she married a chevalier attached to the French army. It was to the notoriety acquired by this impostor that the absurd report is attributable that Jeanne d'Arc had not been burned, and that the English had the generosity to substitute another culprit for her at the stake; and, in fact, that the Maid of Orleans, after the death of the Duke of

Bedford, was living at Metz in the bonds of wedlock.

Quicherat says, "This impostor, who assumed the name and character of the Pucelle in 1436, imposed even on the family of Jeanne d'Arc, had exhibited extraordinary valour in Germany, France, and Italy. After having obtained notoriety, and made a noise in the world during five consecutive years, she disappeared, leaving public opinion altogether changed in regard to the heroine who preceded her. In the opinion of some the true Jeanne was not dead, and the exploits of the second became confounded in their minds with those of the first. There began to be formed in consequence of this error a tradition, in which the Pucelle was treated like the heroes of Romance of the times of Charlemagne, absorbing all the military glory of the time. People more enlightened, who discovered the imposture of the woman who pretended to be the Pucelle, rendered that public homage to her exalted merits which had been given for a short time to the usurper of her glory, but that religious homage which had been paid to Jeanne while living, never was restored."*

The Dominican friar and inquisitor, John Nider, a cotemporary of Jeanne d'Arc, and of the impostor who assumed her name shortly after the death of the heroine, gives the following account of the false Pucelle in his treatise on sorcery, entitled "Formi-

* Nouv. Aper. p. 157.

carium de Maleficiis Deceptis." He says, "The year before (the date of his treatise) brother Henry Kalleisen, exercising the office of Inquisitor in Cologne, found, as he informed me, that there was a certain young woman in the vicinity of Cologne who had assumed and constantly used the vesture of a man: she carried arms and wore garments unbecoming a modest woman, "vestimentâ dissoluta velut unus de nobilium stipendariis," and engaged in dances with men, and assisted at drinking revels and feasts; so that in every manner she went beyond the bounds of female propriety. And moreover at that time, as unfortunately at present, there being two rival claimants to the episcopal see of Treves and great trouble thereby occasioned, she had her vain glory gratified by intervention in this contest in favour of one of the parties, and sought to meddle in it as the maid Johanna (d'Arc), of whom mention will be made hereafter, had done in the case of the French sovereign, Charles, a short time previously, establishing him in his kingdom; and presently this woman, (the impostor of Cologne) declared that she was the identical Johanna raised up from the dead by God."*

And in the next page but one Nider adds, "At the same time two women made their appearance, publicly declaring they were sent by God in aid and fulfilment of the work of the maid Johanna

* Fr. Joannis Nider. Formic. Malef. decep. In. Maleus Malefic. tom. 1. p. 510.

(d'Arc);" and then he relates how both were taken up as sorceresses or witches, and brought before and examined by the Inquisitor of France, and many doctors of theology, and how it was ascertained they were filled with the delusions of wicked spirits. One of these confessed and repented of her error, the other did not, and was committed to the flames.

The person at Metz, whom the brother of the Pucelle believed, or affected to believe, was his sister, was the impostor who passed under the name of "La Dame des Armoises," of whom her cotemporary Nider the inquisitor makes mention. The author of *Recherches sur la ville d'Orleans* states that in July, 1439, this impostor came to Orleans, pretending to be the Pucelle, who had been saved from the flames at Rouen (eight years previously), three years after the date of the vouchers for certain payments elsewhere cited: that she claimed the merit of being the deliverer of Orleans, but that after having deceived the inhabitants she had fled clandestinely.

In the 2nd volume of the Abbè Barthelemi's "Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc," (en 8vo. 2 tomes, Paris, 1847, at page 455), we find among the "Pieces Justificatives," two official documents of unquestionable authenticity, one dated 21 August, 1436, and the other, October, of the same year, existing in the last century, in the archives of Orleans, and taken from the work of the learned and accurate writer above mentioned, entitled "Recherches sur la ville d'Orleans." Quicherat makes no doubt of their authenticity.

So much it is necessary to premise, for two documents more calculated to perplex and confound historical inquiry than can easily be imagined.

The first is a voucher of a date little more than five years posterior to the death of the heroine, for expenditure incurred by the municipality of Orleans; a gratification made to Jehan Dulys, brother of the Pucelle, of 12 fowls, 12 pigeons, 11 *oisons* and 11 *levrets*, and a sum of money amounting to 12 francs, equal to 9 livres tournois and 12 sous.

The said brother of the Pucelle having petitioned the *Procureurs* of the city to aid him with a little money to enable him to return to his said sister, saying that he had then come from a journey he had made to the King, to announce to him that his sister Jeanne (d'Arc) existed then, and that the King had ordered him to get thirty francs, but he only received twenty, of which he had expended twelve, so that eight francs only remained, which was a small thing to return with to Metz to his sister Jeanne.

The other document is a similar voucher, dated October, 1436, (only two months later than the preceding one) for a gratuity made to Cœur de Lys, another member of the family of Jeanne d'Arc, who then filled the office of Herald in Orleans, on account of a journey which he had made to his sister, the Pucelle, who then was at Erlon in the duchy of Luxembourg, and for having brought letters from the said Pucelle to Loches to the King, who was there, in which journey he had spent forty-

one days; that is to say, thirty-four days on the journey to the Pucelle, and seven days on the journey to the King; having set out on the last day of July, and returned the second of September following, for all which journey he had six livres.

On the 2nd of September, there was a further expenditure for bread, wine and other articles of cheer in the Municipal Chamber of the said town of Orleans, on the arrival of the said Cœur de Lys, with the said letters of Jeanne d'Arc, and for his entertainment.

"21 août 1436.

"A Jehan Dulys, frère de la Pucelle, le mardy XXI, d'oust l'an MCCCCXXXVI, pour XII poulets, XII pigeons, II oisons, et II levretz, XXXVIII s. parisis.

"Pour dons à lui *faicts* la somme de XII liv. tournois, pour ce que le *dict* frère requier aux procureurs de la ville qu'ils luy voulissent aider *d'aulcung* poy (peu d'argent) pour s'en retourner par devers sa *dicte* sœur, disant qu'il venoit devers le roy luy annoncer que sa sœur *Jehanne* existoit et que le roy luy avoit ordonné (promis) XXX fr. et commandé qu'on les baillast, ce dont on ne *fist* rien, et ne luy en *fust* baillé que XX dont il avait *despendu* (dépensé) les XII et ne luy en restait plus que VIII fr. qu'*estait poy* (peu) de choses pour s'en retourner à Metz, devers sa sœur *Jehanne veu* qu'il *estoit* son (soi ou lui) cinquième à cheval. On luy donna XII fr. valant IX liv. XII s. parisis.

" Octobre 1436.

" A *Cueur* (Cœur *de Lys*), *hérault* de la *dict* ville, le XVIII jour d'octobre MCCCCXXXVI, pour *ung veïage* qu'il a *faict* pour la *dicte* ville, par devers la Pucelle, laquelle *estoit* à Arlon, en la *duchié* de Luxembourg, et pour porter les lettres qu'il apporta de la *dicte* Jehanne la Pucelle à Loiche (Loches), par devers le roy qui là *estoit, on* (au) quel *veïage* il a vacqué XLI jours ; c'est à sçavoir XXXIV jours au *veïage* de la Pucelle, et VII jours à aller devers le roy et par le dict *Cueur de Lys*, par aller devers la dicte Pucelle, le mardy dernier jour de juillet, et retourna le II[e] jour de septembre en suivant, ainsy sous XLI jours qu'il a demeuré à vacquer à faire le *dict veïage*, pour tout, VI liv. parisis.

" Le *dict* II[e] jour de septembre, pour pain, vin et cernaulx despensés en la chambre de la *dicte* ville à la venue du *dict Cueur* de *Lys* qui apporta les *dictes* lettres de Jehanne la Pucelle, et pour faire boire le *dict Cueur* de *Lys*, lequel disoit avoir grand soif, pour ce II s. IV. d. parisis."

(Les articles ci-dessus sont relatifs à la dame des Armoises, qui se faisait passer pour Jeanne d'Arc, Pucelle d'Orléans, sauvée du bûcher de Rouen, et qui vint en juillet 1439, c'est-à-dire trois ans après, passer plusieurs jours à Orléans, qu'elle prétendait avoir sauvé, mais dont elle partit furtivement, après avoir trompé les habitants.) *Recherches sur la ville d'Orléans*, t. i. p. 284.*

* L'Abbé de Barthelemi's Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, 1847, tome 2. p. 455.

There is a remarkable voucher also cited by the Abbé Barthelemi,* from the old records of the public expenses of the city of Orleans for expenditure in 1439, incurred for the so-called Jehanne d'Armoises, a gratuity of 210 livres having been given to her on account of the services she rendered the said city (of Orleans): "il Jehanne d'Armoises pour don à elle fait le'aout 1439, par deliberations faictes avecques le conseil de la ville: et pour bien qu'elle a faict a la dict ville pendant la siege d'Orleans; 210 livres parisis."*

The fabrications are obvious and numerous in the *grossière invention* denominated *un manuscrit de certains choses arrivèes at Metz*, in which the preceding absurd statement respecting la dame d'Armoises is set forth at large. The impostor here figures under the name of Claude. She has an interview in 1436, with her two brothers, Pierre, who was then *Chevalier*, and the younger Petit Jehan, *Escuyer*. She cavalcaded with them, and several of the notabilities of the place, to the great admiration of the people. And she gave many proofs to those about her of her being the veritable *Jeanne la Pucelle de France*, who conducted the King to Rheims, and delivered Orleans. After some time, she went to Luxembourg, and became intimately acquainted with a young Count Winenbourg, and it appears was beloved very much by him; "il l'aimait, le dict compte, tres fort." But in the next line we are told, on her coming to Erlon, there was made the marriage of

* Hist. d' Jeanne de Arc, t. 2. p. 426.

Monsieur de Hermoise, chevalier, and the said Jeanne la Pucelle.

Quichelet and Barthelemi think this "invention grossiere" was concurred in by the brothers of the deceased heroine from sordid motives. They found her role had been so profitable to them, during the last year or two of her life, they were desirous of continuing the advantages of it, and extending it beyond its natural term.

But what object had the Dame d'Armoises in view in counterfeiting the heroine? The Abbè Barthelemi gives it to be understood that it is not improbable but she may have been the younger sister of Jeanne d'Arc, of whom, strange to say, from the time of the captivity of the latter no mention is made by any writer, though every other member of her family is spoken of by some one or other of them. The Abbè thinks this silence may be indicative of her having abandoned or disgraced her family; and if so, may she not have planned the imposture concurred in by her brothers.

"Ce qui fait de Jeanne d'Arc," dit Michelet, "une figure éminemment originale, ce qui la sépare de la foule des enthousiastes qui dans les âges d'ignorance entraînérent les masses populaires, c'est que ceux-ci pour la plupart durent leur puissance à une force contagieuse de vertige. Elle, au contraire, eut action par la vive lumière qu'elle jeta sur une situation obscure, par une force singulière de bon sens et de bon cœur."

One, and not the least singular, "egarements de l'esprit humain," is the propensity that prevails soon after the sudden or mysterious death of persons of great eminence, the execution of great criminals, or suicide of remarkable malefactors, to fabricate reports of their existence in some distant land: and to produce forged testimony in proof of their fabrications, which vast numbers of intelligent men feel drawn, as it were, to give more weight to, than to any well authenticated circumstantial history of the decease of those persons, whom the diseased imaginations and perverted literary tastes of the lovers of the marvellous and the fabricators of false intelligence thus raise up from the grave.

EPIDEMIC MONOMANIA AND DEMONOPATHY IN SEVERAL CONVENTS IN THE 15th, 16th, AND 17th CENTURIES.

1.	In a Convent at Cambrai .	originating A. D. 1494
2.	In the Convent of Yvertet or Wertet, in Holland	1550
3.	In the Convent of Kintorp, near Strasburg .	1552
4.	In the Convent of Nazareth, in Cologne .	1560
5.	In a Convent in Flanders, near Zanten, or Santen, circa	1560
6.	In a Convent at Odenheym, formerly Neomagus ante	1577
7.	In a Convent at Aix . . .	1609
8.	In a Convent at Lille . . .	1612
9.	In a Convent at Madrid . .	1628
10.	In a Convent at Loudun . .	1632
11.	In a Convent at Louviers . .	1642
12.	In a Convent at Auxonne . .	1652

CHAPTER VIII.

Monomania in Convents at Cambrai, Yvertet, Kintorp, Cologne, Zanten, Odenheym, Aix, Lille and Madrid.

TOWARDS the close of the 15th century we have accounts in Delrio's "Disquisitio Magiæ," and Delancre's "De l'Incredulitè et Mecreance," &c. of the case of a whole community of nuns at Cambrai, of whom evil spirits had been supposed to have taken possession in 1494. For a period of four years they believed themselves tormented in the most horrible manner by demons. The possessed were seen labouring under the conviction that they had been transformed into animals, running about

sometimes like dogs, at other times like cats, counterfeiting their motions and their cries; fancying themselves changed into birds, and then striking out in the air with extended arms as if about to soar into the heavens.

And it is worthy of observation, that the power of divination, of discovering things lost, and of predicting things to come, was claimed by them, and for them. Clairvoyance, under another name, in fact, was part and parcel of the evil influence which devils were believed to exercise on the religious community of Cambrai.

After numerous examinations and investigations into the case of these unfortunate persons, a result similar in one respect to that which followed the like inquiries at Loudun, and generally other inquiries of the same sort in various other places and at different periods, the cause of the possession was thought to have been ascertained, and declared to be the malignity and wickedness of one individual, by whose means the evil spirits had been introduced into the convent, and the community had become possessed.

In the case of the Cambrai possessed nuns, that person was declared to be an inmate of the house, and a member of the order, named Jeanne Pothiere. It is not stated that she confessed the crime imputed to her, but an admission of a guilty intercourse with evil spirits, on her part, was obtained from a demon in the course of the interrogatories which were made by the exorcists. Jeanne Pothiere was accordingly

condemned and imprisoned, and died in prison in Cambrai, aged about forty.

The re-establishment of the mind's health of the nuns of Cambrai, as in other similar instances of supposed possession, was effected with difficulty, "avec peine et avec une excessive lenteur."

Monomania in the Convent of Yvertet, or Wertet.

From 1550 to 1565, epidemic mania, hystero-dèmonopathy, prevailed in several convents and seminaries in Germany, Holland, and Italy. In the convent of Yvertet (Comtè de Hoorn*), this nervous malady, attended with convulsive spasms of the trunk and limbs, and singular hallucinations, broke out towards the end of Lent.

The afflicted members of the community were seized with violent fits of fear and sadness, and paroxysms of an hysterical kind, with sudden bursts of irrepressible laughter and subsequent attacks of depression and despondency. They appeared sometimes as if they had been dragged from their beds along the ground, at other times they suddenly jumped from the floor, and then fell down flat and with considerable force; they were occasionally deprived of speech, and when they fell to the ground remained there as if they were wholly unconscious. But at times they rose suddenly from a state of

* The Comtè of Horn, or Hoorne, formed part of the ancient Duchy of Brabant and of the territory of Liege. The town and castle of Horn were in the vicinity of Ruremonde.

immobility, with such muscular energy that it was with the greatest difficulty they could be restrained. They rose up by sudden bounds, and then fell as suddenly down again in a frightful manner.

The inmates of this convent attributed their terrible sufferings to a compact that had been entered into with the devil; and the unfortunate person on whom their suspicions fell was a poor midwife of the neighbourhood, whose life was consecrated to works of mercy.

The poor woman was cast into prison, and seven other women likewise suspected of devil-worship. The former was examined, called on to confess her crime, protested her innocence, was tortured (sur le chevalet), taken down half dead, and soon after expired.

The malady of the nuns of Yvertet began to diminish in its intensity after having endured about three years, and at length disappeared.*

Wier states that the malady of the nuns of Yvertet commenced with a trivial occurrence, magnified into one that became marvellous in the eyes of many. A poor woman borrowed a measure of salt from the nuns during Lent, and repaid the same, but in double quantity, a little before Easter. From that time the nuns began to find in their dormitories little white globules similar to the crystals of sugar, but of a saline taste, and no one could tell where these globules came from.

Crystallized lime, that might have fallen from

* Wieri, Op. Om. p. 299.

white-washed walls that had become damp, on the floors beneath, might have been the substance which gave rise to this prodigy, connected, God knows how, with an act of supposed satanic agency.

Soon after this occurrence the sisters fancied they heard plaintive cries like those of a sick person, and voices admonishing them to go to the assistance of companions of theirs who were sick: and when they went to the latter they found nothing was the matter. All sorts of extraordinary "mauvaises plaisanteries" (if one may so speak of the mischievous diabolical extravagances they seemed subject to) were exercised on them. Simon Goulart has made the following *resumée* of the morbid phenomena detailed by Wier and others.

This summary clearly and succinctly sets forth the phenomena which throw light on the cause of the prevalence of similar epidemics in convents in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Sometimes the nuns attacked by this malady seemed to be dragged from their beds by the feet a considerable distance, and to feel the soles of their feet so tickled that they burst out into fits of laughter. Some were pinched and even lacerated; others had their trunk and members thrown into the most extraordinary contortions. And some thus tormented and convulsed vomited a great quantity of a dark fluid, black as ink, and so exceedingly acrid as to excoriate the mouth and lips, "*though they had not during six weeks previously* taken any

food, with the exception of bread or the juice of horse-raddish."*

The dark fluid they vomited was so bitter and poignant, that all the efforts tried to excite their appetite for any other species of nourishment than the juice of *raifort* were in vain. "When the convulsions," says Goulart, "set in, some were raised in the air to the height of a man, and all of a sudden were then cast down on the ground. And when some of their friends came to visit those who seemed to be convalescent, or nearly so, the moment their friends appeared some would fall flat to the ground on their faces, from the table where they might be seated, without being able to speak a word or recognize any person; others lay stretched out as if they were dead, but with legs and arms twisted backwards. One of them was lifted up in the air, and though the assistants tried to prevent her rising, and laid hold of her, she was still lifted up in spite of them, and then flung down so violently on the ground that she seemed dead. But coming to her-

* "Que de jus de raifort sans pain," is certainly either an error of Goulart or Calmeil. The words of Wier (page 299) are "Licet ad dies quinquaginta duos nihil præter raparum jus *citra* panem sorpsissent."

Calmeil, on the important statement, as to the food, observes—"Enfin les religieuses avaient fait un long usage de suc de raifort et on sait que la graine d'une plante voisine du cochlearia a souvent causè des convulsions, lorsqu'elle s'est trouvèe melèe, dans une certaine proportion aux substance alimentaire des villageois." —*De la Folie*, tome i. p. 275.

self, as if out of a profound sleep, she went out of the refectory as if nothing had happened.

"Some of them walked on the surface of their legs (in the posture of kneeling), as if they had no feet; and it seemed as if they were dragged backwards, as if they had been in a sack. Some scrambled up trees, clambering with their feet like cats—et en descendoient à l'aide du corps."

It is worthy of notice, that Wier says, "it is not in the least to be doubted that these religious were possessed by the devil;" and moreover, that he affirms the poor woman who was accused of causing their possession was wholly innocent; and that he especially refers to the high character borne by this woman, who suffered death on those false charges, "whose neighbours and the poor of the place bore testimony that she was so charitable, and even profuse in her bounty towards them, that she had been even impoverished herself."*

Wier, moreover, speaking of the inmates of this convent who had been possessed, as he believed, observes—"Lubricæ fidei notæ fuerunt, quod non ad dei voluntatem sed in fœminas cruciatum causas tulerint."

Monomania in a Convent at Kintorp.

Another remarkable instance of the same nervous malady, and epidemic mania as the preceding, but with some peculiar phenomena, occurred in the

* Wier, Op. Om. p. 300.

monastery of Kintorp, near Strasbourg. The whole community, with few exceptions, were afflicted with this disease, and believed themselves possessed by devils. A very full account has been given of this remarkable case by Wier.* Many of the ladies of this house were of noble families.

At first a few only were seized with convulsions and hallucinations, and these were attributed to epilepsy. The symptoms seemed to be communicated, it is said, by contact—perhaps it would be more correct to have said, by close intercourse and sympathy.

At the height of the malady the patients were warned of each approaching access of their convulsions and delirium by a peculiar fœtor of the breath.

When the attack burst out in all its violence, they raved, uttered cries, imitated the shrieks and screams of animals, felt a strong desire to bite, and became frightfully contorted by strong, sharp spasms. The muscles of the pharynx, in particular, were convulsed, and the duration of the crisis constantly varied.

When one nun fell into a convulsive attack, all the other *religieuses*, who might be present, or within hearing of her cries, were instantly affected by the same malady. They became dangerous to themselves and others, made furious attempts to fall on strangers, or to bite, or strike their companions.

* Wierus, Opera omnia, ed. 4to. p. 301.

The disorder of their actions, when sought to be redressed, was beyond imagination; they inflicted frightful blows and wounds on one and other, and, singular to say, without any apparent pain.

Goulart, in his "Tresor of Diabolical Possession Histories," states, "In the paroxysms of the sufferers, some still continued in the possession of their reason, and the power of hearing and recognizing those who were around them; notwithstanding, on account of the convulsive affections of the tongue and the parts essential to respiration, they could not speak during the attack."

One thing is remarkable in this case, as commented on by Goulart, "no sooner was one of the sisters attacked, than on the sole rumour of the occurrence all the other sisters, separately situated in other chambers, were similarly seized themselves."

One of the nuns, Anne Langon, who was an early sufferer from this convulsive hysterical mania, complained much at the commencement of pain in her left side. In her attacks, she frequently spoke aloud, and was not unconscious at the time that she spoke, but it seemed to her, it was another person in her interior who uttered the sounds which came from her lips. And this fact is worthy of note for its bearing on the somnambulism ascribed to animal magnetism. Once the access was over, all that she had spoken during the paroxysm appeared to be forgotten by her. She was clearly in a state of naturally induced somnambulism.

When anything was recalled, which passed "pen-

dant la periode convulsive" (it may be inferred during the state of somnambulism), she declared that she was ignorant of the occurrence referred to.

She frequently found herself in a state of tepidity or distraction, or absolute aversion to devotional exercises, which rendered it impossible for her to pray; she could not concentrate her attention on any religious subject. She had a sense of privation of the intellectual and moral faculties which left no power of volition. Her efforts to pray and praise God, appeared to her to augment her sufferings: and all these were attributed to the demon.

Spiritual remedies were essayed in this case: and the result of these means, or of some physical change in her constitution, was a violent hœmorrhage from the stomach, from which time her malady was arrested, and her restoration to a great degree was effected.

All the religious of Kintorp complained of a burning sensation in the soles of the feet.

As usual, in this case of the nuns of this convent supposed to be possessed, a single person was suspected of all the evils brought on the community by their possession. An unfortunate cook of the convent was denounced by the nuns as a signally wicked sorceress. Elsè Kamè, the suspected cook, was arrested, cast into prison, and accused of having occasioned the diabolical ills which were said to have occurred to the religious community of Kintorp. This poor woman was subject to the same convulsive, hysterical, delirious attacks as the nuns her accusers.

She made a confession of her crimes, as her insane declaration was called; wherein she stated that she had mingled poison with the food of the nuns, and that it was her incantations which had brought the cruel sufferings on the nuns of Kintorp. She retracted, however, her first confession, but she admitted and asserted to the moment of her death, that her imprecations alone had occasioned the malady which had reigned at Kintorp. The cook and her mother were burned, and, according to Wier, the death and burning of these two women had only the effect of giving additional audacity to the demon.

In Goulart's summary of Wier's account of this case, we find the latter states that Anne Langon, one of the oldest inmates of the convent, and one of the first attacked, had related to him (Wier) the whole history of the sufferings of this community. After labouring under a painful affection of the left side, and some other symptoms which led to the opinion that she had been attacked with epilepsy, she was sent to the convent of Nouhertie, and after having had drink administered to her out of the cranium of St. Corneille, it was thought her health was much improved; but it was quite the contrary, for she and some others finding themselves in a worse position than they had yet been, sent to consult a diviner, who gave them to understand that they had been all poisoned by their cook, Elsè Kamè. The devil, seizing this opportunity, began to torment them more than ever, caus-

ing them to bite one another, and to beat one another till they were thrown down on the ground; but all this violence gave them no pain or suffering, no more than if their bodies had been feathers that were thus thrown down, so that they perceived that they had no power over their wills. When they were prevented from striking one another, they immediately set to practising other violence; they tormented themselves in every way they could, and as soon as any restraint which had been put on them ceased, they beat and bit one another anew. One of the community, Anne Langon, remained in a state of exhaustion and stupidity, destitute of discretion and judgment, so that she could scarcely fix her attention on any subject. When she was exorcised, she threw up a great quantity of blood.

Sister Anne having eventually determined not to return to the convent (from which her friends had taken her) resolved to serve God devoutly. In a short time she was freed from this disease, which was deemed diabolical possession. Nevertheless, if she received only a letter from the Abbess, she would have a shivering sensation over all her body, as if she was about to relapse into her former state.

The unfortunate female cook remarked to those who conducted her to the pile where she was to perish, that she had suffered from cruel convulsions as well as the nuns, and that she was as much to be pitied as the most suffering of them, "tout aussi a plaindre que le plus malades."*

* De la Folie, tome i. p. 510.

Monomania in the Convent of Nazareth in Cologne.

Towards the year 1560, nearly all the religious of the convent of Nazareth at Cologne were seized with violent convulsive hysterical attacks, and other nervous affections, attended with delirium of a most distressing kind. The malady spread as if by contagion from one nun to another. Wier, who had seen this case, and witnessed all its most striking phenomena, judged that these nuns were struck with madness, and were also really tormented by evil spirits. He acknowledges that previously to the outbreak of this malady, and the malign influence of evil spirits, discipline had been exceedingly relaxed in this convent; and the results of this relaxation, he thinks, were connected with the disturbance which had taken place in the nervous system of the members of the community.

About 1564, the violence of the convulsive symptoms, and the singular phenomena connected with muscular action, inordinately excited, preternaturally exercised, and endowed with an amount of physical strength which seemed almost incredible, and over which the will had no controlling power, could only be accounted for, says Wier, by attributing them to possession. Other phenomena of a moral kind, which can only be generally described as indications of a total perversion of all principles and sentiments, could leave no doubt on the mind of any rational person, at least with the en-

lightenment of modern medical science in aid of his inquiries, that the community of the convent of Nazareth was a prey to an epidemic mental malady.

During each attack, while in a state of unconsciousness, the convulsive throes of the muscles caused their persons and attire to be put into such extreme disorder, that the bystanders were alike shocked and astounded; and when the sufferers came to themselves, and the crisis of perturbation, physical and moral, passed away, the sufferers experienced feelings of suffocation, and seemed to know not how to bear the shame and embarrassment with which they were overwhelmed.

The sufferings of the community of Nazareth commenced with the supposed possession of a young religious, who had been cloistered from her fourteenth year, of the name of Gertrude. Her hallucinations were connected with the old traditions of sorcery, with the diabolical machinations of incubi. Her nocturnal alarms disturbed and affrighted the religious whose bed was next to her. The latter was the next person of the community attacked with this hystero-convulsive malady: she was the first person in the house who was seized with convulsions. When the paroxysms ceased, her reason appeared disturbed, and it was usual for her to rave on subjects which had reference to the torments of the condemned. And in this manner the seizures of the community appeared to be effected by a contagious terror, extending from one individual to another, till the greater number of the community laboured under

uncontrollable convulsions and delirious hallucinations. How long this nervous malady and monomania lasted we are not informed.

Goulart relates, that in a convent near Cologne, in 1560, the devil introduced himself in the shape of a dog, and ran about the cloisters in a manner that was by no means edifying. From the date it is evident the convent of Nazareth is the one referred to.

"The poor devil," about the same period, was introduced, by common report and its interpreter Simon Goulart, into another German convent, that of Hensberg, in the shape of a cat.

Only two years later than the period of the violent outbreak of this hystero-convulsive malady in the convent of Nazareth at Cologne, a very singular disease broke out in the hospital "des Enfans Trouvès" at Amsterdam, which Calmeil designates "Hystero-Demonopathie contagieuse." It is to be borne in mind this hospital was an asylum for orphan children of both sexes, and that the majority of the inmates were males. At the close of 1566, the greater number of the children were attacked with convulsions and delirium. A cotemporary writer says:

"They spoke foreign languages (*des langues etrangeres*), and knew what was passing elsewhere, even in the great council of the city. They made grimaces and movements so extraordinary at the doors of certain women, that the latter were suspected to be sorcerers; but the names of these women I conceal, to save the honour of their rela-

tions." Something more than honour was jeopardised by this most absurd suspicion.

The times were surely out of joint when the lives of people, and the honour of families, could be compromised by the mad pranks of poor children, afflicted with a malady partaking of the character of an hysterical disease, accompanied with paroxysms of delirium.

The large experience and enlightenment of Calmeil gives the stamp of the best medical authority to the refutation of a common error of no small importance: "Comme la plupart des enfans trouvés d'Amsterdam appartenait au sexe masculin, on a du croire à une époque où on faisait toujours dépendre l'hystérie de l'état de l'uterus, que les convulsions notées sur ces orphelins étaient positivement de nature épileptique. On sait aujourd'hui que l'hystérie peut atteindre les deux sexes comme la plus-part des autres affections encephaliques."*

Adrian Nicolai, chancellor of Gueldres, made a public discourse in 1566, in which he spoke of this memorable case in the following terms:—

"It is about two months ago, that in this city thirty children began to be tormented in a strange manner, as if they had been furious maniacs. At intervals they cast themselves on the ground, and this torment lasted from half an hour to an hour. When they got up, they had no recollection of what had passed, or of any suffering during the attack,

* De la Folie, tome i. p. 277.

they even thought they had been asleep. The doctors who had been called in did nothing (n'y firent rien), thinking as they did that the malady was one which proceeded from causes not natural. Then their parents, thinking that sorcerers had caused those evils, had recourse to them; but no good came of all their sorceries: finally, as it was thought that those children were demoniacs, recourse was had to several exorcists, on account of the children saying, without being aware of the fact, many things which surpassed their intelligence and their age. The exorcists employed all their science (on those children), and lost their time. During the exorcisms the children vomited quantities of needles, pins, thimbles, scraps of cloth, pieces of broken pottery, of glass, and hair. Notwithstanding the children were not cured; many continued to be attacked from time to time, to the great astonishment of every one, on account of the novelty of so strange a spectacle.

"The same happened in Rome, in 1555, for in the Asylum of Orphans (in that city) about seventy young girls became demoniacs, and continued in this state more than two years."*

In the above recital we plainly see there was more mischief laid to the devil's charge than to the doctors who "did nothing;" or to the theologians who did something, and more than they expected,

* S. Goulart. "Histoires Admirable et Memorables," &c. Paris, 1600, t. i. pp. 46, &c. Ap. Calmeil, De la Folie, t. i. p. 274.

perhaps a great deal more suffering than they were justified in attributing to the Prince of darkness.

Hoost, a German writer, referring to this case of the Foundling Hospital children of Amsterdam, and the account given to him of it by eye-witnesses, worthy of credit, both Catholics and Protestants, says the details were frightful, they were sufficient to make the hair of the head stand of an end. "For a great part of those children being possessed by evil spirits, were not only tormented in different ways, but after they were delivered from them they felt the effects of them all their life: and they even clambered along walls like cats, and on the roofs of houses, and had so hideous a regard that the boldest seemed afraid of it."

Monomania of the Nuns of a Convent of St. Briget in Flanders, near Xanten, or Santen. Circa 1560.

"Not unlike the case of the community of Wertet," (admirabilis et horrifica vexatio exercitatum a dæmoniis) says Wier,* "was the torment of the nuns of the convent near Xanten, governed by very strict rules, who were tormented likewise in the most extraordinary ways, many of them rushing forth uttering horrid sounds and noises like the bleating

* Wier (Op. Om. p. 301) describes this convent of St. Briget, "Non procul à Xanctis." Xanten, or Santen, was an old fortified Flemish town, now included in the Prussian territory, near the Rhine, in the circle of Rheinberg, not far from Wesel.

of sheep, sometimes thrown from their seats in the church, veils torn off their heads, the fauces contracted so that they could not swallow food. Those various and dire sufferings were endured by many even for a period of ten years.

"The cause of this tragedy was imputed to one of the sisters who had formerly been in love with a young man, and on account of affinity between them her parents had refused to give her in marriage to him: and the devil, taking the form of this young man, had appeared to her in the midst of her most passionate transports, and had counselled her to become a nun, which she immediately did, and suffered herself to be shut up in a convent. She became like one in furious madness, and exhibited to each person horrible and strange spectacles. And this evil spirit spread like a contagion amongst several other sisters of the convent." *

"The young religious," Wier adds, "who had been disappointed as above stated, and had taken the veil in a fit of desperation, was placed in confinement, and while sequestered manifest proofs were given by her that she had wholly forgotten her religious vows, and her prior engagements, 'prolem bis sustulit carceris custos.' She was at length liberated, and ever after the common opinion was, that she had been brought into crime by sorcery: 'Delusio fuit mere diabolica qua illa decepta, se ea fecisse confiteretur quæ peculiaria ipsius, Satanæ erant opera.'" †

* Wieri, Op. Om. p. 301. † Ibid.

It is sufficient for us to believe that there may have been good grounds for the statement that the young lady referred to had been in love, had been refused in marriage, had been compelled by her parents to enter a convent, had pined in its cloisters, sickened in its seclusion; and, having lost all hope, and health, and spirits, she became a monomaniac, labouring under hysterics, convulsions, and delirium.

Monomania in a Convent at Odenheym, formerly Neomagus. Antè 1577.

Wier, after briefly noticing the epidemic which affected the nuns of St. Briget's convent, says, he was informed the nuns of a convent "in Hessemonte Neomagi," (now Odenheym on the Rhine, see Synonyma Geographica, A. Ortelii) for some years were infested by demons, who in the night time disturbed the dormitory with a great noise, as if of ingress, and with soft music beguiling the senses of the nuns, inducing them even by the seductive softness of the sounds to dance to them. A demon in the likeness of a dog was seen on one occasion, and suspicions were excited that grave disorders accrued from that period. One individual at first incurred suspicion of being affected by diabolical influences, and then the evil spread: "Similia multa et longe graviora in eodem accedere cenobio, vivente Patre Paulo quæ ut ab illis celantur ita à me aperiri minimè decuit." *

* Wierus, Opera Omnia, p. 301.

Monomania in a Convent at Aix.

The latter part of 1609 two inmates of the convent of St. Ursula at Aix were seized with hystero-demonopathia. One of them, Madeleine de Mandol, avowed that she was "possessed by a great number of devils;" the other Louise Capel (aged nineteen) declared she was "possessed by three devils, one of whom called himself Verrine."

Their avowal of obsession, and the extraordinary convulsive affection with which they were seized, led to inquiry and exorcism, and eventually to removal from Aix of Madeleine de Mandol to the town of St. Maximin, for consultation with the Father Michaelis. Subsequently both the Ursulines were taken to a convent called Sainte Baume. Louise Capel on being conducted along with her companion to that convent, with a view to further investigation, made a vehement accusation, "une violente sortie" against a priest of the name of Gaufride, whom she designated, "The Prince of the Magicians of Spain, France, England, and Turkey: and who for his demon had Lucifer."

This seems to have been the prelude to a grave specific charge on the part of Madeleine against a clergyman, not only of sorcery but of scandalous life, of whose diabolical arts she declared herself to have been the victim when she was under nine years of age. At the period of this avowal Madeleine was labouring under frequently recurring periodical

attacks of an hysterical kind, attended with hallucinations and illusions, convulsions of fearful violence of all the voluntary muscles, with catalepsy reducing her to a state of total rigidity, immobility, and unconsciousness, which Michaelis in his diurnal record of her sufferings and torments, ascribes in the following terms to the agency of devils.

"Le 26 Fevrier (1611) Asmodee, Prince de la Luxure, commenca d'agiter Madeleine, lui faisant des choses deshonnetes," &c. On another and preceding occasion, narrating the powerful malignity of the fiend Beelzebub on persons being sent to fetch Madeleine to the church: "Sur le soir quand on avait coutume de faire venir Madeleine à la Sainte Beaume pour l'exorciser qu'on le trouva toute roide comme une statue de marbre, et toute endormie:" and in this state of somnambulism she was carried by four persons to the church.

"Le 2 Avril, Beelzebut l'assoupit et le rendit immobile comme une colonne d'airain."

"Le 10 Mars, Madeleine nous recita que la nuit précedente, sur la minuet elle se trouva visiblement environnèe de diables," &c.

In various entries during the whole of the month of March in the diary of Michaelis, mention is made of torments inflicted on Madeleine by evil spirits, such as violently throwing her to the ground, convulsing her entire frame, casting her against the fire-place, "la teste couchant presnue le feu. Beelzebut lui faisant courber la teste par un continuel

mouvement jusques à terre tantost devant, tantost derriere," &c.: at one time tormenting her so cruelly "bien trois quarts d'heures que trois hommes qui la retenoient estoient tout en suer et n'en pouvaient plus."

In fact, all the epileptic phenomena of the falling sickness, the violent movements, rigidity of the body, working in the fit, wonderfully augmented bodily strength, are narrated by the Pere Michaelis.

Louis Gaufride, a beneficed priest of the church of Acoules of Marseilles, was arrested on the report of the Inquisitor Michaelis, and by the orders of the Parliament of Provence tried on the accusation of Louise Capel; and in due course of law was committed to the flames on the 30th of April, 1611.*

Gaufride, we are told by Calmeil, was a man of cultivated mind; when the astounding accusation was brought against him he totally denied the truth of it; he refuted, by all the means in his power, the imputations of the two Ursulines. But there was a stronger power than any he possessed, the power of

* The *Procès* of the unfortunate clergyman is given in the "Causes Celebres," and in twenty other works more or less mutilated and garbled. Calmeil's account of it is taken from original sources, a work of the Inquisitor Michaelis, "Histoire, admirable de la Possession et conversion d'un penitente seduite par un Magicien;" a treatise entitled, "Confessions de Louys Gaufridi," &c.; and a discourse on the same subject by Domptius. Vide Calmeil, "De la Folie," tome i. p. 401.

driving a man in the position of Gaufride mad by such an accusation, and at such a period by terror, by menaces, by the dismal gloom, silence, and solitariness of a dungeon, by the bewilderment of his imagination, the constant action brought to bear on his religious feelings, and continual appeals to them, to induce a confession of crimes suggested to him as diabolical accusations against him, of two religious women instigated by devils, and believed to be true, though thus instigated and inspired, by grave men in authority, civil and religious.

He went mad; he confessed all that was laid to his charge, and a great deal more. He had been a demon worshipper upwards of fourteen years. He had sold himself to the devil. He said: "Ce demon m'engagea à rendre amoureuses de ma personne toutes les femmes que j'attendrois de mon souffle. .... Plus de milles femmes ont etè empoisonnées par l'attrait irresistible de mon souffle, qui les rendoit passionnées. La dame de la Pallude mere de Madeleine à etè fascinées comme tant d'autres: mais Madeleine à etè prise pour moi d'un amour insensée, et s'est abandonnée a moi soit au sabbat, soit hors du sabbat."

The burning of Gaufride had not the happy effect that was expected from it. The two Ursuline nuns continued to be possessed as they imagined—"elles continuerent a dèlirer apres la condamnation de Gaufride." A poor young blind girl, named Honorèe, who was accused by Louise Capel of practices

of sorcery was burned likewise—"elle ne put eviter le sort de son ancien curè et fut brulè sans plus de pitiè que lui."*

The health of Madeleine de Mandol continued probably a long time deranged. All that is known with certainty of her subsequent career is, that three months after the execution of the unfortunate priest Gaufride, she was seen with naked feet walking about the streets of Carpentras, where she begged her bread from door to door: on certain days also she was seen selling in the market-place the small broken wood which she gathered in the forests, and distributing among the poor the few sous she had thus managed to scrape together. Yet this wretched creature was the daughter of a Provençal gentleman, the Sieur de la Pallud. It would appear that after the death of Gaufride she was not only abandoned by her family, but by the order she belonged to, and the ecclesiastics who had previously charge of her while the process against Gaufride was in progress, and who unquestionably strengthened that terrible belief of hers, that she was possessed by devils.

At the trial of Gaufride, one of her friends remonstrated with her against casting such shameful imputations on herself and others. She was however sustained in that course by Michaelis, l'Inquisiteur, "qui n'avait jamais laissé echapper l'occasion de perdre un malheureux."

* Michaelis, Hist. De la Possess. &c. p. 123. Ap. Calmeil, De la Folie, t. i. p. 502.

If this be true, in vain may it be pleaded for him that the times were barbarous. That plea might be justly put forward in abatement of the indignation inspired in our times by the bare recital of such horrors, if it were used in behalf of a civil judge, a jurist whose qualifications for his judicial office were not supposed to be mainly connected with the obligations and requirements of the Divine laws.

It is a great and just argument of Christianity, that it mitigated the barbarity of all ages. The exceptions to the general rule, however, though they do not tell against it, do not cease to be crimes, although they may have been committed in the name of Religion. They are to be lamented, and neither palliated, defended, or denied.

Monomania in a Brigettine convent at Lille.

In 1612 and 1613, the inmates of the convent of the Brigettines at Lille was visited by the same monomania, which had then recently afflicted the Ursulines of Aix. The Father Gaufride was but a short time dead, when the malady broke out among the Brigettines.

Michaelis, who has written on the possession of Madeleine de Mandol, states, that some of the Brigettines of Lille had been present at the exorcisms of the Ursulines of Aix. The fact is sufficient to show the contagious nature of the delirium of the unfortunate Ursulines. Other singular coincidences in the confessions made by members of both orders,

accusing the same unhappy individual, the priest Gaufride of being the prime agent of the demons by whom they had been involved in the guilt of sorcery, can leave no doubt on the mind of any enlightened person, that if the hallucinations of the Ursuline religious Madeleine had not occurred, those of the Brigettine nun, Marie de Sains, and her companions had never taken place, at least had never assumed the form in which they presented themselves.

A number of the inmates of the convent of St. Briget were seized with unusual anguish of mind, and painful sensations, the precise nature of which is not explained in the accounts given of their sufferings.* The distressing symptoms of their disorder spread from one to another, and with increasing violence, till at length they came to the strong and terrible conviction that they were *possessed.*

Their sufferings were prodigious: some were troubled in their reasoning faculties, others borne down by despair, or reduced to a languishing condition, or to a moribund state, or rendered choleric and impatient; or evidently as they imagined, and those about them also, *possessed* by evil spirits: and under this malign influence, horribly perverted in their intellectual and moral being, averse to all religious

* Lenormand's account of the supposed possession of the nuns in this convent is entitled "Historia de tribus energumenis in partibus Belgii scilicet Magdalenæ Palud, Mariæ de Sains," &c. in 8vo. 1623.

practices, impious in their thoughts and language.* In this respect they resembled the supposed possessed nuns of Madrid and of Loudun. While this disease lasted, "the poor nuns never entered this monastery but a notable and perilous change was remarked in them; and no sooner did they leave its enclosure than they were entirely cured."

The cause of those dread disturbances was at length supposed to be discovered. One of the sisters, Marie de Sains, who up to that time had enjoyed a great reputation for virtue, was suspected of being given secretly to the practice of sorcery, and on this suspicion was imprisoned. During an entire year this sister constantly avowed her innocence, and there were no proofs of any guilt of hers; but in the spring of the year following (in 1613) things took another turn. At this epoch three of the sisters who were exorcised by Michaelis and Domptius, were declared possessed by evil spirits, and those sisters declared that it was Marie de Sains who was the cause of the demons seeking the ruin of the community.

Marie at first manifested astonishment at this denouncement; but suddenly renouncing her former denials of guilt, she made the most marvellous declarations of turpitude and wickedness that ever entered into the imagination of a human being of a sound mind to conceive. Her revelations so astounded a venerable prelate of seventy years of

* Lenormand, Ib. p. 19.

age, a person of great note in Flanders, the archbishop of Malines, that he said in the full assembly of the Notables, who, by the command of the Archdukes, were assembled to investigate this case: "Since he had been in the world, he had never heard or seen any thing similar: the crimes and abominations of Marie de Sains were beyond all conception."* They were indeed more than this, they were beyond the possibility of perpetration.

She could not have committed them unless her whole life without intermission had been devoted to the crimes of murders without numbers, stranglings of innocent children, ravaging of graves, feeding on human flesh, revelling in orgies of superhuman turpitude, sacrileges unheard of, poisonings of all degrees of swiftness or slowness of operation, acting variously on the mind, the body, and the soul, and banquetting and junketting incessantly with demons at their Sabbath and in their synagogue of sorcery; and unless, indeed, that life had been extended to at least three times the ordinary term of human existence, and that the elements of all the perversity that was ever heard of in the most debased minds of the most degraded criminals were concentrated in her heart.

In this terrible proclamation of imagined crimes, foreign to the former life of the poor creature by whom it was made, to her profession, to the educa-

* Calmeil, De la Folie, Ib. p. 513. Lenormand, Ib. p. 16.

tion of one destined for it, to her character in her convent, to that "great reputation for virtue" which she had once enjoyed in it, we find the language, the incoherent ideas, the perverted feelings, the phrenzied exaltation, and strange fertility of delirious imagination, creating fantastic images of horror for an exercise of its unbalanced powers, and manifesting singular ingenuity in a propensity to appear, or to become the reverse of every thing in morals, manners, and behaviour, which the person had previously been; the same obliquity of judgment, in short, which we meet with every day in the language and sentiments of persons in asylums for the insane.

To that complexion may the hue of madness come at last, in the case even of the most refined and delicate of one sex, and the most noble and highly gifted of the other, when the music of the mind becomes

"Like sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh."

If the good Archbishop only knew that fact, he might have formed a better judgment than he did of the revelations of Marie de Sains.

And if one glimpse of reason shed even a faint ray of light on her tortured and distracted mind, when that prelate pronounced the words, "que les pechès et abominations de Marie de Sains etoient au dela de toute imagination," she might have truly said in her great anguish:

"Alas! I fondly thought that I should find
Compassion in your bosom, when you knew
The deep affliction which my heart endures;
And I find nought but cruelty and scorn,
And anger strong in place of gentleness;
So that I deem myself a person dead;
For what should give me confidence and rest,
Discomforts me and threatens me with woe."*

It is remarkable in the confession of this poor monomaniac, that the various malefic compounds and diabolical philtres which she asserted she had prepared and concealed under the beds or pillows, or about the clothes of the other sisters, for their destruction, "Un malifice que le diable me confia et qui devait causer l'extermination de la communautè," in the very next passage she declares "was invented at the sabbath of the sorcerers by Louis Gaufride, when the devil, to recompense him for his pains, gave him the title of Prince of Magicians," &c.

She had contrived to administer the devilish philtres of all sorts to the community, to produce specific disasters, to drive some mad, to terrify others, to cause anger, despair, impiety, immorality, atrophy, and finally to kill, as in fact she stated by such means she had done, "tous les filles, qui ont ètè enterrées de puis un certain temps dans la communauté."†

But there was surely a little spice of "miching malicho" in the mischief of the diabolical compounds,

* The Lyrical Poems of Dante Alighieri, &c., by Charles Lyell, A.M., Lond. 1845, p. 109.

† Calmeil, ibid. t. i. p. 515.

she avowed to her exorcists she had caused them to take: "J'ai fait avaler—au Pere Michaelis des poudres qui agissent sur l'estomac et sur le cerveau: au Pere Domptius des poudres qui engendrent une maladie pediculaire."

We may fancy the unpleasant sensations created by this avowal in the mind of the former austere exorcist of an atrabilious temperament, marvellously distempered by an excessive zeal, as may be inferred from his own History of Possessions, when he learned that the devil, and this female colleague, had confederated against his stomach and his brain. If there be anything to create a smile in all the preceding details, it surely must be in the effect of the avowal too of the malign influence she had exercised over the other exorcist. Let us picture to ourselves the stolid look and the leaden hue of the good Pere Domptius, if one might infer from the peculiar disease that was to be engendered in him, that he was an ascetic and somewhat of a stranger to the luxuries of periodical changes of apparel and the carnal influences of soap and water, when this very uncomfortable intelligence was given him—that malefic philtres had been swallowed by him unawares, and the germ of the most loathsome of all cutaneous diseases, "une maladie pediculaire," was planted in his unhappy body.

Marie de Sains, in the presence of her accusers and her exorcists, improvised sermons which she ascribed to Satan; raved polemically and at large on the Apocalypse, and made long discourses

on Antichrist and the Precursor, who was the son of Madeleine de Mandol, and whose sire was Gaufride, or Beelzebub.

But perhaps that ancient prelate, the Archbishop of Malines, had some misgivings of the sanity of this poor woman in his mind, though we find no recorded expression of them. Perhaps it was to his influence humanity was saved from another judicial murder. Marie de Sains was stript of her religious habit, condemned to perpetual imprisonment in Tournay, and to exercises of austere penitence.*

The monomania of the sisters of St. Briget appears to have lasted nearly ten years. Three of the afflicted were remarkable for the predominance of ideas which had previously reigned epidemically in Labourd and its vicinity. One of them professed to be occasionally *illuminée* (a clairvoyant, to use a later term). All had the faculty of improvising long discourses, under the inspiration either of religious or irreligious states of exaltation of mind, merging in delirium. Six of them were under the dominion of ideas which had reference to possession by evil spirits. Of those who declared themselves the victims of sorcery (bewitched), several after languishing for a long time died; others fell into a state of miserable imbecility, neglected their attire, and became lost to all sense of propriety. And, to crown their misfortunes, these unfortunate creatures,

* Calmeil, "De la Folie," &c. tom. i. p. 521.

we are told, were exposed to the vulgar curiosity of the ignorant and unfeeling, to their jeers and their scorn, and the shame of the suspicion of the most terrible of crimes, nay, even to the opprobrium of condemnation of them. No one treated them as if it was believed, or in the slightest degree suspected, they were insane. "The truths of science," says Calmeil, "have been very slow to put forth their germs for the alleviation of the sufferings of the insane."

Monomania in a convent in Madrid.

About the year 1628, nearly all the sisters of a Benedictine convent of Madrid, were the prey of an hysterical-nervous affection, which degenerated into monomania. Llorente, in his work on the Inquisition of Spain, has treated of it.*

He states that this convent was composed of a community of thirty sisters, very exemplary in their conduct and religious behaviour, under the authority of a superioress, Donna Therese de Sylva, who, although only twenty-six years of age, was a person entitled to a great deal of consideration, not only on her own account, but on account of her relations, who had been liberal benefactors to the convent. The first spiritual director of the inmates was a Benedictine named Francois Garcia, who passed for a man full of holiness and sagacity.

While the convent was in the highest odour of

* Llorentè Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, tome 3. p. 484.

sanctity, the actions, gestures and expressions of one of the sisters, named Frances, caused it to be rumoured and believed, that she was in a supernatural state of mind and spirit. The director of the community, Francois Garcia, had recourse to exorcisms, and on the 8th of September, 1628, it was announced that Frances was possessed by an evil spirit. A little later, several members of the community declared themselves likewise possessed, and on the 28th of December, the mother abbess, Donna Therèse, was in the same condition; and immediately after the superioress was attacked, four or five other nuns were seized, and as they believed, possessed by devils. Finally, out of thirty sisters who composed the community, twenty-five were seized with this species of contagious malady. So here, under one roof, there were thirty nuns and twenty-five demons, more or less; need it be said, the convent was turned upside down, and the intellectual faculties of the inmates were distracted. Several consultations were held with learned and virtuous divines: all admitted the sisters were possessed. Exorcisms became frequent, by day and by night. This state of things endured for three years.

In 1631, the Inquisition, informed of what was taking place, caused to be arrested and conducted to the secret prisons of Toledo, the spiritual director of the community, the superioress, and some of the nuns, who were subsequently dispersed in other

convents. The father Francois Garcia was denounced as a heretic, *illuminè*, and it was declared that the nuns had desired to conceal their condition (*of illuminées*) by feigning to be possessed.

After some incidents and the presentation of some memorials to the King on the subject of these possessed sisters, a regular process was instituted, and the nuns were declared suspected of having fallen into the heresy of the illuminated. The latter were condemned to incarceration, and divers penitential exercises. The abbess was exiled for some time, and prohibited the right of deliberating for four years, and of voting for eight years. She then entered the convent of Sainte Placide, and was prohibited by her superiors under pain of disobedience from having recourse to the superior tribunals in the way of appeal from the decision of the judges.

The abbess obeyed, protesting however that in making a true statement of her case, she was not influenced by self-love, but by motives of consideration for all the members, and other houses of the Order of St. Benedict.

This statement of Donna Theresa breathes throughout a spirit of candour and humility. In substance it was to this effect. After three members of the community had been attacked, she began to feel interior movements, so extraordinary and novel, that she was persuaded they could not be natural. She prayed frequently and fervently to be delivered from this great evil. Eventually, she

prayed the prior, Father Garcia, to exorcise her. He refused to do so, and tried to convince her that all she recounted was the effect merely of imagination.

She did all in her power to believe that it was so, but it was in vain. Eventually, the prior put on his stole, and after many prayers begged that God might be pleased to make it known to her if the demon had possessed her, or to cause those cruel sufferings she endured to cease.

Long after he had commenced the exorcism, and while she felt altogether comforted and relieved, freed from all sufferings, "she fell all at once into a kind of swoon, and delirium," *espece d'anéantissement et delire,* "doing and saying things of which she never had an idea in her life." She began to fall into this condition (of extravagant sayings and doings) when they had placed on her head the wood of the cross which seemed to her "as heavy as a tower." This state of things and feelings continued about three months, and she found herself "rarely in her natural condition."

The following passage is worthy of particular attention.

"La nature m'avait donnè un caractere si tranquille que, meme dans mon enfance, je n'avait rien de cet age et que je n'aimais ni les jeux, ni les vivacitès, ni les mouvents que lui sont ordinnaires. D'apres cela ou ne pouvoit s'empecher de regarder comme une surnaturelle qu'etant arrivée à l'age de vingt sex ans et à etre religieuse et

meme abbesse je fisse des folies *dont je n'avais* jamais eté auparavant capable."

In all the preceding statements and confessions of religious persons, believing themselves possessed by devils, or accused by others of giving themselves up to practices of sorcery, which have been noticed in the work, there is not one of them which throws such light on the actual state of mind of persons supposed to be under the influence of supernatural power of some kind or other, as this simple, natural, and evidently truthful statement of the abbess of the Benedictine convent of Madrid.

It will not do to say the woman was an impostor, and all the other religious women, to whose cases we have referred, were deceivers also. There is no use in endeavouring to persuade ourselves, or others, that all the phenomena in those cases are fabrications; for instance, the extraordinary uncontrollable and unaccountable contortions of the frame, violent and long continued movements of the whole, or some portion of the muscular apparatus—the sudden suspension and prolonged state of deprivation of sensation and of consciousness—the condition of unwonted nervous excitement and elevation of mind which amounts to exaltation, which heightens the powers of imagination, and marvellously augments the subtlety and acuteness of the faculties of perception and penetration, and some of the senses, particularly that of hearing. *The fact is, in all these cases which have been referred to in this volume, of*

epidemic hystero-convulsive Theomania, accompanied with trance or ecstasy, when those affected were thrown into a deep swoon, deprived of consciousness of external objects and impressions conveyed through the senses, but during its continuance had all the mental powers occupied with hallucinations, connected with prevailing opinions or predominating ideas, such as possession by devils, communion with spirits, and other frequent subjects of previous reflection, of menace, or of denunciation; that stage of their disorder which exorcists call a state of illumination, differs in no respect from that of somnambulism induced by the active influence of the imagination, or a belief in the existence and efficacy of a subtle fluid to which the name of Animal Magnetism has been given; from that condition, in short, which is called Clairvoyance.

But, to return to the statement drawn up by the Benedictine abbess, Dona Therese de Sylva.

She says, on one occasion the demon, Peregrino ("that is to say, the sister possessed by this devil"), was in the dormitory on the second floor, when she, the abbess, was in the parlour: and Peregrino said, "Is Donna Therese occupied with those visits? I will make her come quickly." She adds, she did not hear these words, neither did she see Peregrino, but she felt an internal inexpressible disquietude, and she quickly took leave of the persons who had come to see her, and she did this without any deliberation. "I felt then (she says) the pre-

sence of the demon in my body. I commenced running without reflecting on what I was doing, murmuring to myself, 'The Seigneur Peregrino calls me;' and I went where this demon was, and before I reached the place I already spoke of the subject on which the conversation turned, and of which I had no previous knowledge." . . .*

"Some people," she continued, "say that we pretend to be only in this state through vanity, and I especially, to gain over to me more effectually the sisters and other persons who are seriously disposed. But to be convinced that such motives did not cause us to act thus, it is sufficient to bear in mind that of thirty religious, of which number the community was composed, there were twenty-five in this state, and of the five others, three were my most intimate friends. As for persons living in the world, the condition we were in was more calculated to inspire fear, and cause them to fly from us, rather than to make us esteemed or sought after by them."

The abbess, in fact, in the jargon of mesmerism, was a clairvoyant. The Supreme Council had the wisdom and humanity to declare the innocence of the Benedictine sisters. But they dealt more rigorously with the director of the sisters, Father Garcia. Llorente states, he was declared culpable for having put himself in relation with demons, before commencing to attack them.

This means, it is to be presumed, he was irregular

* Calmeil, Ibid. tom. ii. p. 5.

in the mode of exorcising. The only evil he appears to have done the community was by the long continuance of his exorcisms for a period of three years. This abused practice alone, with all the concomitant terrors of the belief in its necessity, with all its tendencies to fix ideas which had become hallucinations, and to confirm, day after day, the terrible belief of possession by devils, was sufficient to drive the timid into monomania, and the monomaniacs into incurable furibund madness.

CHAPTER IX.

EPIDEMIC MONOMANIA AND DEMONOMANIA IN A CONVENT AT LOUDUN.

1632 TO 1638.

CENTURIES before the community of Loudun were tormented by evil spirits, or afflicted with a disease of a monomaniacal character which prevailed in an epidemic form, and caused their hallucinations to be so considered by them, numerous references to diabolical possession are to be found in the ecclesiastical chronicles of the Eastern churches, and in some of the histories of the Lower Empire, and numerous accounts of snpposed *possession* are not wanting in early ages in the monastic records of the Latin Church.

The number of works which treat of the monomapia of the Ursulines of Loudun is considerable. Several of them were written at the time of its occurrence, some by persons who had a personal knowledge of the circumstances they treat of, and others by those who derived their knowledge either from the persons connected with the investigation, or engaged in the subsequent legal proceedings

against Urban Grandier, whether judicially, medically, or clerically.*

I may observe, once for all, that wherever the work of Menarday is cited, the reader has to do with the statements and views of an enlightened Roman Catholic clergyman, believing firmly in the doctrines

* Works of most importance on this subject:

1. De la Menarday, "Examen et Discussion Critique de l'Histoire des Diables de Loudun." Liege, 1719, 12mo.

2. La Fleche, "La Demonomanie de Loudun."

3. (Aubin), Histoire des Diables de Loudun. Amster. 1693, 16mo. The author was a native of Loudun, a Calvinist, in exile in Holland about the date of his work.

4. (Aubin), Cruel effets de la Vengeance de Cardinal Richelieu, &c. Edit. 1716.

5. (Anon.), Histoire D'Urbain Grandier, condamnée comme Magicien. Par Mousieur * * * *. Amst. 1734, 16mo.

6. (Anon.) Mercure Francois, tom. xx. pp. 748, 762, 777, 770, 779.

7. Menage, Voyages. Part i. p. 9.

8. Menage, Remarques sur la Vie de Guillaume Menage, p. 340.

9. Pilet de la Menardiere, Traitè de la Melancholie, en 4to.

10. Surin Pere, O. S. J., Histoire Abregèe des Ursulines de Loudun. Et des Peine du Pere Surin ouvrage inedit faisant suite de les Œuvres Editeurs, L'Association Catholique de sacre cœur. Par. 12mo. 1828.

11. Pidoux, In actiones Julio-dunensium (Loudun) Virginum exercitatio Medicinæ adversus Duncan. 4to. 1634.

12. Biographie Universelle, (de Michaud). *Art.* Surin.

13. Journal des Savans, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres. March, 1684, p. 10, 2nd edit.; May, 1689, p. 311, Dutch edition,

14. Bayle, Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit. *Art.* Grandier.

of his church, and convinced likewise of the *possession* of the nuns of Loudun by evil spirits. And, on the other hand, wherever the "Histoire des Diables de Loudun" [par Aubin] is referred to, the reader has to do with a Calvinist of Loudun, at the period of its trials, in exile in Holland, not favourably disposed to the Catholic religion, but a person of critical acumen, unlikely to falsify public documents relating to this subject, and having an apparent desire to record facts; though his impressions of them, or his prejudices in regard to them, evidently bias his opinions, and make it necessary to receive his statements with caution, and to consider them in connection with the accounts of other writers.

In 1611, a lady of rank introduced the order of Ursulines into Paris: in 1626, a branch of it was established at Loudun, near Poitiers, in the department de La Vienne. The superioress, Madame Jeane de Belfiel* (nom parmi le monde), was a member of the family of Baron de Cosé. The community was formed of several ladies of high rank and ancient lineage of Poitou, Saintange, and Touraine.

Amongst them was a relative of Cardinal Richelieu, Madame Claire de Sazilli, two ladies of the house of Nogeret, Mesdames de Barbezier, a

* The mother, Jeanne des Anges (Belfiel), was about thirty-four years of age when she was elected Superioress of the Ursulines of Loudun, and she died in that office on the 29th of January, 1665, the festival of St. Francis of Sales.

daughter of the Marquis of Baracè, Madame de la Mothe, two ladies also of the name of Escobleau, of the house of Sourdis. And it is of importance to bear in mind that those ladies were not inferior to any persons of their sex for the cultivation of their minds, refinement of manners, and the care that was bestowed on their education. They all devoted themselves to the instruction of young ladies, who were confided to them either as boarders or external pupils.*

The health of the Mother Superioress, and then of several members of the community becoming suddenly and strangely affected in 1632, public attention was directed to the Ursulines of Loudun. Sixteen of the sisters in a short time believed themselves, and were believed by those around them, to be possessed by evil spirits.

They suffered from frightful disquietude of mind, hysterical symptoms strongly pronounced, great nervous irritability, convulsions of extreme violence, producing singular contortions of the trunk and members, catalepsy, and in some cases somnambulism, hallucinations, all bearing on subjects connected with religious enthusiasm, assuming a delirious character of terrific fanaticism, a strong persuasion and belief of diabolical possession, and its power over mind and body.

The first manifestation of their malady was in the

* Abrégé de la Vie de la Mère Jeanne des Anges, ecrit par les religieuses Ursulines de Loudun.

form of complaints of several sisters, that they were disturbed at night by spectres, and the apparition of a confessor of theirs, Father Moussaut, recently deceased, and the infliction even of blows which were dealt by this ghostly visitant, without apparent motive or mercy: on one occasion the complaints extended farther.

While their minds were thus haunted by spectral images and ideas of apparitions, it was not unusual for them to rise from their beds, to leave the dormitories, to wander about the corridors, the rooms of the boarders, and even to mount on the roofs of the houses.

"Peut etre (dit Calmeil) le somnambulisme se melait-il aux aberrations qui constituaient un commencement de delire." If Mons. Calmeil had said, in all probability, instead of perhaps somnambulism was mingled with those aberrations, which constituted the beginning of the delirium of some of the community, the observation would be more just.

The hallucinations of the Ursulines at length became the permanent and fixed monomania of Demonopathy. It was no longer the appearance and random blows of spectres which disturbed their quiet, it was now a perpetual diabolical influence which they had to contend with, and as it invariably seems essential in all such cases that the blame of the corporal *possession* taken by devils should be cast on some individual, the unhappy scape-goat of

the sin, or rather of the læsion of the brain of those poor sick ladies, was a living priest in the vicinity of the convent. But, let it be borne in mind, the same criminal passion by which they declared the living priest was actuated, the same criminal attempts they attributed to him, the same infliction of blows, had been previously ascribed by one of them to the deceased director of the community—practised, be it observed, not during the life-time of that person, but after his decease. If this be a proof of insanity on the part of the accusers, as I take it to be, there is some evidence surely in the fact in favour of the innocence of the last party accused by them. The ghost of the former one may dispense with any argument in its defence.

The name and catastrophe of an unfortunate clergyman are mixed up with this sad history of the monomaniacs of Loudun. The Abbé Urban Grandier, an elève of the Jesuits of Bourdeaux, who had retired from the order about the year 1620, a canon of the church of St. Croix, curate of St. Peter's (and not the director or confessor of the nuns of Loudun), a young clergyman of great repute for pulpit oratory, and of striking personal advantages, living a good deal in the world, and as it would appear by no means dead to its allurements, or uncontaminated by its vices, is said to have incurred the animosity of some members of one of the monastic orders in his locality, by publicly inveighing in the pulpit against the practice of frequenting

the sacraments at Easters in any other than the parish churches.*

Rumour began to affect the morals of the Abbé Grandier, and in a little time he is heard of before a legal tribunal, accused of many grave disorders: "On denonça ses galanteries à l'official de Poitiers en 1629." The accused was condemned and sentenced to loss of benefice, and to residence as a penitent in a seminary. An appeal, however, from the sentence led to its reversal.†

Three years passed over. The friends of virtue and religion (according to some), or the foes of the Abbé (according to others) were not idle in the mean time. In 1631, a rumour began to be disseminated among the common people: "Que les Ursulines de Loudun etoient possedées." The Abbé Grandier was accused of being a magician, and by his conjurations of having caused the Ursuline nuns of Loudun to be possessed by devils.

So early as October, 1632, the nuns had begun to incriminate Urban Grandier. As their delirious paroxysms, dated from the latter part of 1631, Grandier, in the interval between that period and his arrest, could not have been very easy in his mind at the rumours industriously circulated, that several nuns had laid the guilt of their spiritual ruin at his door.

It will be borne in mind that one of the nuns of

* Mercure François, tome xx. p. 748.

† Dict. Biog. Universelle, *Art.* Grandier.

Loudun, thought to be possessed, was a relation of Richelieu. A Councillor of State of the name of Laubardemont, a creature of Richelieu's, happened, *as the public were informed*, to be employed at Loudun on business unconnected with the convent at the period when the disturbances in the house of the Ursulines, attributed to diabolical agency, were at their height. The Councillor of State, it was said, had been sent to superintend the demolition of an old castle in the vicinity of that town.

A little later (31st November, 1633), the Councillor of State, Laubardemont, is heard of at Loudun as commissary of the minister, Cardinal Richelieu, charged to investigate the subject of the alleged possession of several nuns in the convent, and given extraordinary powers, superior even to the jurisdiction of the Parliament, and prohibiting in this case all appeal to it.

The charge of magic against Grandier might have failed, however, if another accusation against him had not been brought to the ears of the Cardinal Richelieu. The Cardinal was given to understand that a satirical epigram to his prejudice ("Le Cordonniere de Loudun,") had been written by Urban Grandier.*

* It is denied by several writers that Grandier was the author of the epigram; but a treatise against the celibacy of the Clergy, found among his papers, with a passage of a profligate nature in the dedicatory address of it to a lady of his acquaintance, is with justice ascribed to him. Had Urban Grandier been sent to the Bicetre, instead of being committed to the flames, justice and religion might have been better served.

The offence of the satirical epigram was expiated at the stake.

Eventually a commission was appointed by the Government to inquire into the case of the possessed nuns. The Chief Commissary, Laubardemont, was the creature of the Cardinal Richelieu. The long arm of the prelate-statesman reached from Paris to Loudun; and the ill-fated Abbé was soon within the grasp of the Cardinal's emissaries. He was accused of practising devilish arts on the nuns of Loudun, and some secular women of the convent. Several of the supposed possessed nuns were either terrified, or driven by delirious impulses, into the fabrication of evidence against him.

Urban Grandier was imprisoned, prosecuted, repeatedly tortured, and the expressions of his agonies were interpreted against him. In August, 1634, he was burned at the stake as a devil-worshipper.

There is one thing very notable in the legal iniquity of those proceedings. The commission appointed by Cardinal Richelieu to investigate this case, and pronounce on Grandier's guilt or innocence, consisted of a Chief Commissary, and twelve judges. The judges, it is said, were "good" or "well-meaning men," but still they were picked men, and constituted a packed tribunal. The celebrated Menage, remarking on this, uses the following words, very worthy of attention:—

"No innocence can be proof against the choice of judges: let an accuser choose the judges, and he

will cause all the Jansenist bishops to be burnt by Molinist judges, and all the Molinist bishops to be consumed by Jansenist judges."

On the 12th of June, 1634, Grandier having been duly shaved and shorn of all hair, *to prevent* his practising any sorcery against the Commissary and the Judges, the Bishop of Poitiers, the exorcists, and the witnesses (twelve monomaniac nuns of Loudun) against him, was conveyed to the convent of the Carme, and there brought to trial "at the bar of justice," as the barbarous tribunal was called, where his judicial murder was to be consummated.

Grandier asserted his innocence boldly and eloquently; he was overwhelmed by the possessed nuns with torrents of abuse, accusations of compacts with the devil, of diabolical artifices to induce nuns to go to the sabbath of the demons to worship him, and to suffer his embraces. The enraged energumènes attempted to fall on him, begged hard to be allowed to tear him in pieces, but as this latter proceeding was a little "trop fort," the Bishop of Poitiers interfered, and would not permit the possessed sisters to maltreat or murder the prisoner.

At this juncture, Grandier proposed to the Bishop, as a sure test of the truth or falsehood of the crimes ascribed to him by the nuns, that they should be called on to substantiate the truth of their charges, by causing a distinct and obvious red mark to appear

on his forehead as an attestation of their truth; and in the event of their inability to produce it, that the failure should be considered an evidence of his innocence. The Bishop, from *prudent considerations*, refused his assent to this proposal. For prudent considerations, however, he gave the solemn sanction of his presence, the sacred authority of his office, and the imposing pomp and circumstance of the mitre and the crozier, to the legal formulas by which the persecuted priest was brought to the stake.

There was a remarkable consistency in the iniquity of each part of the abominable proceedings in the case of the statesman-prelate, Cardinal Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII. *versus* Urban Grandier, a simple priest.

That part of the sentence, which condemned the unfortunate priest to be burned to death at the stake, was promised to be remitted; it was conceded to him mercifully that he should be strangled first, and burned afterwards; but faith was broken with him by the infamous Commissary of Richelieu and his compeers. The wretched prisoner, with his legs so shattered by the torture of compression between boards worked by a screw, as to be unable to walk to the place of execution, was carried thither on a bier, and burned to death, proclaiming to the last his innocence, and praying to God to have mercy on him, and to enable him to bear his torments.

We cannot more fitly take leave of this part of

the subject than by terminating with the following just observation of Calmeil:—

"Le procès de Grandier reste comme un monument irrefragable du parti que l'hypocrisie et la sceleratesse ont su tirer de bonne heure des plus affligeantes infirmitès de l'espece humaine, pour assourir leurs criminelles passions."*

From the early part of 1632, the notoriety of the unhappy condition of the nuns of Loudun, had attracted the attention of other authorities, civil and religious.

Spiritual assistance was abundantly supplied to the afflicted nuns, learned theologians, zealous Carmelite friars flocked to Loudun, the ceremony of exorcising the possessed sisters commenced with all the imposing formalities required for it, and it may be added (when abused) with all the baleful influences on the mind of the exorcised that might be expected from so solemn a confirmation of their terrors of demoniac possession. The possessed were now subjected regularly to a course of exorcisms. The demons were conjured, but their supposed victims became more furious than ever. The result is described in a few emphatic words, "L'exaltation des religieux degenera en fureur."

The superioress, Madame de Belfiel, was attacked with violent hysterical convulsions. The relative of Richelieu, Madame de Sazilli, was similarly attacked; but in her case, the hysterical phenomena were com-

* De la Folie, t. ii. p. 35.

plicated with the most terrible perversion of all religious and moral sentiments.

It was not till the 11th of October, 1632, that the chief magistrate and the civil commissary of Loudun were witnesses (for the first time) of the convulsive attacks of the Superioress, and those also of a lay sister. The former, Madame de Belfiel, uttered plaintive cries, writhed in her bed, and from her contortions, and the innumerable extravagances of her acts and movements, it seemed as if she was out of her senses. It was with great difficulty she could be made to swallow some liquid nourishment in an interval of calm, and after having done so she would immediately relapse into her nervous crisis.

Madame de Magnoux, stretched on another bed in the dormitory, presented nearly the same morbid phenomena. "From this period, a day did not pass perhaps, without exorcisms of the sisters, either public or private, of several hours duration, and it is impracticable to relate all the extravagant scenes which succeeded in the course of the dispossession of those energumènes."

Many of those afflicted in the convent of Loudon (says Menarday) in their paroxysms gave vent to ideas totally perverted, to expressions which ought not to be expected from their lips, and gestures and postures at variance with all they had been taught in their homes, or in their cloisters.

It was common, at the commencement, to see them

crawling all fours, the arms twisted behind them on the back, the feet drawn backwards towards the spine. One would be seen bent double in motion, as if walking, the back of the neck resting on the heels: another moving continuously, her head in a most singular manner. One who had frequently exorcised them, the Pere Surin, in an account which he gave of what he witnessed at Loudon, after the death of Grandier, says: "I saw a thing which surprised me greatly, and which was common to all the possessed; it is this, that (in their paroxysms) when they were thrown down on their faces, their heads touched their heels, and they moved thus (as if walking) with an astonishing quickness, and for a great length of time. I saw one who raising herself up, struck the chest and the shoulders with her head, but with such quickness and violence, that no one in the world, however agile the person might be, could do anything approaching to it . . . As to their cries, it was what might be conceived of the bellowing of the condemned, of enraged wolves, or horrible wild beasts. There was nothing in it, nor in anything else they did, which was human."*

Many of the sufferers exhibited, at times, the phenomena of ecstasy and catalepsy. Menarday says: "On some occasions the distinguishing symptoms were manifested in the suppleness of the whole frame. *In their exhaustion they became as a strip of lead,*

* De la Menarday, p. 351.

capable of being bent, so that their bodies could be rendered altogether pliable, and bent either backwards or forwards, or on one side, so that their heads could be made to touch the ground; and they remained in that position in which they were placed till their attitudes were changed."* Most of the phenomena which I have distinguished by italics in the preceding account, I have seen exhibited in a case of catalepsy by a boy at school, aged about fifteen.

Calmeil observes that "the temporary delirium of the intellectual faculties, and moral sense, the insane actions, the muscular phenomena, were especially exhibited during the exorcisms, and during the most solemn religious rites. In the intervals of repose, the sufferers endeavoured to return to their usual exercises of prayer, to resume their habits of labour, and the demeanour and comportment which were befitting young women of their rank and profession. Almost always the arrival of an exorcist sufficed to throw into disorder the nervous system of these unfortunates. Satan was no sooner conjured, than blasphemies and imprecations were the only things heard."† When these ceased, they would rise from the ground where they had been violently thrown at the commencement of the paroxysm, throw themselves into the most extraordinary antic postures, and manifest that singular perversion of the moral sense, which has been elsewhere

* De la Menarday, p. 479.

† De la Folie, tome 2. p. 13.

noticed in similar cases of monomania, and demonopathy.

Some of the sisters, whose malady was characterized by a marked periodical recurrence of spectral illusions and hallucinations, connected with some morbid condition of the optic nerves, attributed their visions to the presence of demons and possession by evil spirits. Sometimes the same sufferer imagined she perceived three devils about her person.

The sisters who believed themselves *possessed*, described a peculiar sensation in the head, the stomach, or the region of the heart, which made them suppose those parts were severally or singly occupied by a demon.

The abbess, Madame de Belfiel, believed she was possessed by seven devils; Madame de Sazilli, by eight; Madame de la Mothe by four; the sister Elizabeth, by five.* Madame de Belfiel, when answering to the questions of the exorcists, heard a living being speak within her body, imagining that the accents of a strange voice emanated from her organs of speech. Thus all the words spoken on such occasions by persons supposed to be possessed, are considered uttered by devils, "sont censées proferées par demons."†

When the poor hysterical monomaniacs of Loudun, in their paroxysms of convulsive fury, and delirious extravagances, cursed, blasphemed, launched impre-

* La Demonomanie de Loudun, par La Fleche, p. 57.

† De la Folie, t. 2. p. 13.

cations against heaven and earth, demons, who were called by the supposed possessed, Asmodeus, Leviathan, Isaacaron, Behemoth, Astaroth, &c. were set down as the utterers of those impious words, each devil having a distinct voice in the possessed.

But it is very remarkable, although I do not think it has been observed, nothing could exceed the volubility of the sick nuns in their transports, employing freely common and proverbial expressions in their own language, and the idioms even, and patois in some cases, peculiar to the place they belonged to; but when they came to be exorcised, and the demons within them were called on to give specific answers, or words of assent or dissent to particular questions or commands, which were addressed to them in the Latin tongue, the replies were given generally in French, but with less volubility; and on one occasion, in the case of the Mother Abbess and the exorcist, Father Barrè, when the command was couched in a few words, "Adora Deum tuum Creatorum"—and the words were such as a religious must have known the signification of from the responses of the Mass, and the Litanies in Latin in common use, the reply in the same language was limited to two words—"Adoro te." Subsequent replies on subjects which admitted of expatiation were equally brief. The inference is neither complimentary to the demons, nor to the French nation. We are left to suppose the fiends from long practice had become familiar with the French tongue,

and, from what follows, it would appear were neither fluent nor correct in their Latinity.

After the demon, through the organs of the Abbess, had replied to Father Barrè "Adoro te," the father asked her "Quem adoras?" and repeated this question several times: the answer was "Jesus Christus." Whereupon a bystander, Daniel Drouin, assessor to the provost, could not forbear saying somewhat aloud, "Here is a devil who does not understand concord." The exorcist then changed the phraseology of the question, saying, "Quis est iste quem adoras?" expecting she would answer giving the name in the same case as before; but she answered, "Jesu Christe:" upon which many present said, "This is bad Latin." But Father Barrè came to the rescue of the devil's Latinity, and maintained she had said, "Adoro te, Jesu Christe," as an ejaculation, "I adore thee, O Jesus Christ!"* If there had been as much pains taken to defend the accused priest's cause and life as there was anxiety shewn to defend the demon from a sin against the rules of syntax, humanity would have been saved a great outrage, and the Cardinal Richelieu and his agents a great crime.

Seguin, a physician of Tours, who wrote a letter in the *Mercure Français* concerning the occurrences at Loudun, says that the nuns were addressed by M. de Launai Sazilli (probably a relative of the sister Clara Sazilli, who was a relation of Richelieu),

* Histoire des Diables de Loudun, p. 57.

in the Taupinanboux language, and was answered in it; and Seguin adds he believes the account, because Sazilli was a man of veracity. But Menage, who made this subject a study, and, as Bayle observes, "was not ignorant of the subject of this letter, nor of the other stories published about the understanding of tongues, attributed to these nuns, does, nevertheless, affirm that they did not shew thereby that it was a true possession." Menage, on the contrary, stated, "As to the learned, the greatest part of them maintained that those nuns were only distempered, not finding in them, whatever has been said to the contrary, any of the three symptoms that the Roman ritual requires as a sign of being truly possessed by the devil, which are divination, the understanding of languages which the person has not learned, and a supernatural strength of body."*

Naudè states, that two persons who assisted officially at the exorcisms of the nuns of Loudun, and were supposed to be unfavourable to the belief of the diabolical possession put forth by the community, and their abettors, incurred the displeasure of Richelieu.

Quillet, on one occasion of some of the nuns being exorcised, is said to have perplexed and confounded the evil spirits by questioning and cross-questioning them; and this proceeding gave umbrage to

* Naudè, Dial: de Masćurat, p. 310. Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crit. 2nd Ed. By Desmaizeaux; *Art.* Grandier.

Richelieu's agent, the commissary Laubardemont, who issued out a warrant against him. In consequence of which Quillet found it was not safe for him to remain at Loudun. He fled into Italy, where he served under the Marquis de Cœuvre at Rome.

The other person above referred to was a famous Scotch physician of Saumur, of the name of Duncan, who wrote a book against this pretended possession.

The Superioress and two other nuns were exorcised by Father Surin, before Gaston, Duke of Orleans (brother of Louis XIII.), numerous courtiers, and secular officials, civil and military officers, lawyers, and doctors, in May, 1635. It is impossible, without disgust and indignation, to read the authentic accounts that are given of this revolting, cruel, and indecorous exhibition of extraordinary muscular movements and extravagances of all sorts, moral, as well as physical—not simulated, be it observed, but seeming to the bystanders to emulate the surpassing antics of mountebanks and acrobats, the results of a fearful and humiliating disease, that more than all others dehumanizes its victims; and it pains one to think that the sufferers, whose infirmities were thus exposed to the eyes of a profane, vulgar, morbid curiosity, were women devoted to religion, of virtuous lives, honourable families, of refined manners and feelings.

The exorcists had their seances as well as the animal-magnetic-somnambulizers.

Gaston of Orleans, and a certain number of the ennuyèes of the court, wanted a novel pastime, and it was procured for them at Loudun.

The first person exorcised by Father Surin before the Duke and his followers was the mother superioress. No sooner did the ceremony begin than she was immediately thrown into violent convulsions: "Tirant une langue horriblement difforme, noiratre et bouttonée ou grenée comme da marroquin sans etre pressée des deuts et seche comme s'il n'y avait jamais eu d'humeur, et la respiration n'etait nullement forcée. Ou remarqua entre autres postures une telle extension des jambes qu'il y' avait sept pieds de long d'un pied à l'autre."* The extraordinary appearance of the extruded swollen tongue becoming parched up, of a dark purple hue, is worthy of attention, for the same appearance was frequently observed on several occasions in similar cases of demonopathy during the exorcisms.

The same contemporaneous author above-cited, states also, on the same occasion of the first exhibition before the Duke, the Superioress being thrown by the demon at the feet of the Father (Surin), who held the blessed sacrament in his hand: "Il tourna premièrement la paume de deux mains en haut, (de la superieure) pius il acheva le tour entier, en sorte que la paume de chaque main touchait le carreau; il rapporta les mains ainsi tournées en les joignant sur le bout de l'epine du dos et aussitot y porta les

* Histoire des Diables, p. 226.

deux pieds joints aussi: en sorte que les deux paumes des mains touchaient les deux cotés, le dehors de la plante des pieds. Elle demeura en cette posture assez long temps, avec les tremblemens etranges, ne touchant la terre que du ventre." *

Madame Sazilli was also exorcised before the Prince. We are told that the first demon who was manifested, at the command of Father Elisée, rendered the whole frame of the possessed nun perfectly pliable. That the exorcist placed the members in various positions, *and the demon retained them in that posture, invariably, till the exorcist altered them,* and during this time, "assez long," there was no respiration perceptible in the lungs, but solely a slight breathing, "un petit souffle," through the nose. She was almost insensible, for the exorcist pinched her arm and pricked it also with a pin, and no blood came, and she appeared to have no feeling. A demon, known to the exorcist as Sabulon, afterwards commenced his diabolical operations on her frame, by forcing her to roll about the chapel, causing her left leg to be thrown up parallel with her shoulder five or six times, and to undergo divers frightful contortions and tremblings, during which time her countenance was hideous and deformed, her tongue swollen, arid, and protruded; and at this time her respiration was regular, the eyes immovable, and always closed. Afterwards, her legs

* Histoire des Diables, p. 226.

being extended outwards in a straight line, she remained thus as it were in a sitting posture, with her hands joined and her trunk erect; and the demon Sabulon, being finally conjured to adore the sacrament, after some resistance was constrained to do so, testifying by the tremors, cries, and tears of the possessed, his horror at this compelled submission.*

It may well be asked, what were the feelings of the poor afflicted woman thus cruelly outraged by exposure, at the moment of coming to herself, resuming consciousness, seeing the disorder of her person, and noticing the gaze of a large assemblage of men fixed on her?

During the exorcism above mentioned, the Jesuit father, Pere Surin, for the first time appears to have felt the symptoms of demonopathy. He perceived, in his own person, the attacks of the demon Isaacharum, who had abandoned the Superioress for a short time, and the Pere Surin was twice thrown down by the demon, and his legs and arms were shaken by this evil spirit. There was no simulation of possession on the part of the exorcist. He unfortunately was possessed with the belief that evil spirits had obtained dominion over his body, and years of terrible sufferings were connected with that *morbid* condition of mind, and of disordered bodily functions, which like a contagious disease prevailed epidemically at Loudun, and extended from it in

* Abridged from "Histoire des Diables," p. 231.

various directions long after the occurrences above referred to.

The sister Agnes, on being exorcised before the Duke of Orleans, raged like a demoniac, under the dominant malign influence of a devil named Asmodeus, who drove her backwards and forwards, and with astonishing quickness of motion: "Le faisant battre comme un marteau avec un si grande vitesse que les dents lui craquaient et que son gosier rendait un bruit forcé." In this paroxysm her features ceased to be recognizable, her swollen tongue, arid and livid, was protruded from her mouth.

After undergoing many changes of countenance, as particular demons she was thought possessed by were conjured by the exorcist, she performed some extraordinary evolutions: "La sœur Agnès porta un pied par le derriere de la tête jusqu'au front, en sorte que les orteils touchaient quasi le nez." *

After divers other very unedifying exhibitions for a performance in a church, sister Agnes, on coming to herself, and being asked by the Duke of Orleans if she remembered what had occurred in the late paroxysm, said to the Duke, "that she remembered some things which were done but not all, and that she had answers (to the questions put to the demons in her) *as if they* had been uttered by another." †

The exorcisms and the sufferings of the exorcised went on "pari passu" till the end of the year 1638,

* Histoire des Diables, p. 299. † Ibid.

and then they only terminated by the intervention of the civil power, as by a similar influence the marvels at the tomb of Deacon Paris, in St. Medard, terminated a little later. The Pere Surin tells us, that at the period above referred to, the King, with the advice of his council, thought fit to withdraw the pension for the maintenance of the exorcists, and he adds these significant words: "Which (withdrawal) of the pension, was conjointly with the prayers of the possessed to be no more exorcised; and, in a little time, these sisters obtained that which they hoped for."*

This is a remarkable avowal for the principal exorcist of the nuns of Loudun. And there is another avowal of his not less worthy of attention in the same narrative of his, namely, "that while the sisters did not cease to be interiorly tormented by the demons acting on their soul by obsession, they were scarcely ever possessed by them except during the exorcism, 'elles n'etaient presque jamais possedé que pendant l'exorcisme.'"†

With such avowals and such results as we have seen from the means employed to mitigate the sufferings of the disordered members of this convent, how is it possible to come to any other conclusion than that the rite of exorcism was terribly abused by those who had the spiritual charge of this community?

Thus we find the cremation of Urban Grandier

* Peines du Pere Surin, &c. p. 208. † Ibid. p. 85.

did not mend matters much at Loudun, though the fiends had positively promised to take their departure soon after his decease. One of the nuns, the Superioress, declared the burned Abbé was innocent, that he had been falsely accused by her; but this was considered new evidence of the cunning of the demons. Several others of the community, a year after Grandier's death, remained possessed of their terrible disease. Six of the clerical and magisterial functionaries of Loudun, who had been brought into contact with Grandier and the nuns, during the legal proceedings, caught the disease, and went mad of demonomania. Of these four were priests. All the doctors of the department had been called on to pronounce on this case. Twenty-five reports exist, and all conclude that the phenomena they had witnessed or investigated, could only proceed from diabolical possession.

But it was not only the inmates of the convents and the functionaries connected with it who went mad, and became demonomaniacal, this was the fate also of many people in the neighbouring towns and villages.*

In 1453, Prior Edeline, one of the doctors of the Sorbonne, preached against the judicial proceedings instituted against persons accused of worshipping demons, and inveighed boldly against the folly of treating as a crime what was a disease. Yet this enlightened man was himself struck with the very

* Dict. Biog. Univ. *Art.* Grandier.

disease of belief in demons' influence, and the necessity of propitiating devils by worship. He was arrested, thrown into prison, accused of worshipping devils, and the imputed charge was confessed by him. He was declared insane; he was not burned, but was allowed to die in a dungeon.

The following details will shew the tendency of religious madness to spread, after the manner of epidemic diseases.

It was not only among females in the villages adjoining Loudun that demonopathy made its appearance after the execution of Grandier; three days after that event, Father Thomas, a Carmelite friar, having administered the sacrament to a woman named Elizabeth Blanchard, terribly afflicted with demonopathy, one of the accusants of Grandier (whom she is said to have been unacquainted with), "was agitated by one of those demons (he had conjured) who would not tell his name."*

Demonopathy of Father Lactance.

Demonopathy had another victim in the Father Gabriel Lactance, who had taken a leading part in the tragic scenes at Loudun, and a most shameful part at the execution of Grandier, and whom the people asserted Grandier had apostrophized at the stake, as one "having soon to appear before the tribunal of Divine justice."

"Exorcists," says an author of the 17th century,

* Hist. de Diables, p. 203.

cited by Calmeil, "participated almost always in the effects produced by demons, more or less, by means of the anxieties they suffer from them, and few persons have undertaken to expell devils who have not been affected by them."

For instance, the father Gabriel Lactance, of happy memory, who, while engaged in these labours in which he died gloriously, after having expelled three devils, out of the Superioress (of Loudun), experienced terrible incommodities occasioned by those malign spirits, losing first his sight, then memory, finally consciousness, suffering affections of the heart, and troubles of the intellect, and divers other disorders. Aubin (the Calvinist writer) referring to the fate of Father Lactance, observes: "If one does not choose to believe that he was possessed by actual demons, at least it must be admitted that his conscience served him for an executioner, and an evil spirit, since it is certain that he died in paroxysms of fury and despair, which it is impossible to describe."*

"The rumour," says Calmeil, "of Father Lactance's possession commenced immediately after Grandier's death. In an interval of calm, the father had made a vow to go to Saumur to offer up his prayers at the shrine of Our Lady of Ardilliers; unfortunately, on his way thither, the carriage which conveyed him was overturned twice in that short journey. One may imagine that such an unusual occurrence could

* Hist. de Diables, p. 207.

not fail to add to the unfortunate nervous affections of an ecclesiastic, who already ascribed to the devil all the ills he suffered, and every thing untoward which occurred to him. Speedily the morbid condition of Lactance became hopeless, and an interval of thirty days only occurred between the death of Urban Grandier, and that of his exorcist Father Lactance. Even to his last moments he was a prey to transports of mental excitation, that appeared comparable to violent phrensy."*

Demonopathy of Father Surin.

Father Surin, a native of Bourdeaux, residing at Marennes, a distinguished and highly intelligent member of the Order of the Society of Jesus, a man universally esteemed, of known probity and sincerity, and of high repute as a spiritual director, was sent by his superiors to Loudun to perform the functions of an exorcist in the convent of the Ursulines, of such unfortunate celebrity. Father Surin had taken no part in the proceedings against Grandier, or in connexion with the phenomena which were manifested in the convent, previously to his decease.

Pere Surin arrived at Loudun, and entered on his functions of an exorcist in December, 1634, about four months after the death of Grandier. The madness of the Superioress and several other members of the community, according to the Pere Surin, or as he terms it, the fury of the demons, was then at

* De la Folie, tome 2. p. 55.

its height. It is impossible to read Surin's account of his own mental and spiritual sufferings, his possession and obsession as he imagined by evil spirits, as we find them detailed in the "Peines du Pere Surin" (chapters vii. and viii. of the 3rd book, pp. 122, 133), without coming to the conclusion that the frequent exorcisms he was engaged in, and their deplorable results, had drawn him into the same monomaniacal disease under which so many members of the community were then suffering. But evidently impaired in his understanding as he was for a considerable time, he was allowed to remain exorcising the Superioress, prescribing the discipline for her, and acting altogether in a way which was indicative of insanity. Long and painfully interesting accounts of his horrible sufferings for a period exceeding twenty years have been given by himself, and were published during his lifetime in his Ascetic works. These were collected and separately published in 1828, by the Association Catholique du Sacre Cœur of Paris. This very remarkable and authentic work of Father Surin, is entitled—Histoire Abregèe de la Possession des Ursulines de Loudun, et des Peines du Pere Surin (Ouvrage inedit faisant suite à ses œuvres.)

We find, by his own account, that his attention on his first arrival at Loudon was devoted mainly to the continued possession of the Superioress. After careful examination of this energumène, and attendance on her, Father Surin declared that the

possession in this case was real, and that he could swear before God and his Church, that more than two hundred times the demons by whom she was possessed, had revealed to him things that were altogether secrets of his, either concealed in his thought, or on his person. "It is clear, (says Calmeil,) the conviction of Father Surin was firmly established. A month did not elapse, from the time the exorcist was placed in communication with the energumènes of the convent, before he fell himself into a deplorable state of monomania."

We are informed by the writer of the "Histoire des Diables" (p. 215) that the demons menaced Father Surin by the mouth of the Superioress, that they maltreated him, that they declared to him they were instigated by some magicians, and their reason for molesting him was to drive him from his Order. In effect, so early as January, 1635, he began to experience many symptoms and sure signs of the presence and malign operations of demons. It was remarked at that time, that in the act of exorcising one of the religious, he was suddenly deprived of speech: so that it became necessary to call to his assistance the other exorcists, who administered the holy sacrament to him, and thus delivered him from that particular molestation.

He was again however attacked in the presence of the Bishop of Nismes, by a demon named Isaacarum, who possessed the face of the Superioress, and spoke by her mouth, menacing audaciously the

father, and with the view of imposing silence. Suddenly, this demon disappeared from the face of the Superioress, and instantly attacked the father, causing him to change colour, to feel a constriction of the chest, and take away for a time the power of speech. And afterwards being commanded by another exorcist to quit Father Surin, the demon obeyed, and returned to the body of the Superioress. There he spoke by her mouth, and rendered her face exceedingly hideous and horrible. The Father Surin renewed his functions as if nothing had happened to himself, and persisted in them.

But he again molested him one afternoon, "dans un apres-dinèe;" he was possessed and released seven or eight times consecutively. These assaults were succeeded by others more violent in Lent, some fifteen days before the holy week, and immediately previous to it, when a demon by the mouth of a possessed nun said to him, "I will cause you to go through the passion. My friends are labouring at it." On the Good Friday following, the father being in his room, in the company of eight or ten persons, felt great oppression about the heart, and certain impetuous impulses which moved him internally, and caused him to twist his frame in the way persons do who are seized with violent colic.

These attacks, which commenced in the convent and in his place of abode, eventually came on in public, the demon acknowledging to the father, the object of the latter seizures was to force him to

abandon his functions of an exorcist, and to return whence he came. On one occasion he was internally maltreated by a demon, and knocked down by the violence of the attack; when he uttered cries, and was horribly shaken by his adversary, but was perfectly conscious all the time, pointing with his hand to the place where he was assaulted, at one time to the head, and another to the chest, in order to have the ciborium brought there by the other exorcists.

The 3rd of May, 1635, he wrote a letter to a brother of his order, Father d'Attichi, residing at Rennes, in which he gave an account of his dreadful sufferings, in language which it is impossible to interpret in a sense unfavourable to the writer's perfect good faith and solemn conviction of the demoniac possession he describes.

"Your Reverence,—Since I last wrote to you I have fallen into a state far removed from my expectations, but very conformable to the designs of God in regard to my soul. I am no longer at Marennes but at Loudun, where I lately received your letter. I continually converse with the devils, and have had adventures which are too numerous to describe, and which have given me more cause than I ever had to know and admire the goodness of God. I will tell you something of this, and were you more discreet I would give you more information. I have fought with four of the most powerful and malicious demons in hell, I of whose weakness you are well aware. God permitted that the combats should

be so violent, and the attacks so frequent, that the only field of battle was exorcism. These enemies night and day secretly proclaimed themselves in a thousand different ways. You can imagine what a comfort it is to depend solely on the mercy of God. I will say no more of this. Let it suffice, that knowing my state you will thus be induced to pray for me. It has gone so far, that for three months and a half there is always beside me a devil actively engaged. God has even permitted, I think in punishment of my sins, a thing which, perhaps, has never been witnessed in the Church, which is, that in the exercise of my ministry, the devil passes from the body of the possessed person and enters into mine; when he attacks me, throws me down, agitates and thwarts me visibly, possessing me like a demoniac during several hours. I cannot explain what passes in me during this time, nor how that spirit unites itself to mine, still acting like another self, as if I had two souls, of which one is deprived of her body and of the use of her faculties, and holds herself apart, contemplating the actions of the soul which now occupies the body. The two spirits fight in the same field, which is the body, and the soul is as it were divided. On the one side the soul is subject to diabolical influence, and on the other to her natural inclinations, or those which God gives. At the same time I feel a great peace under the will of God, and then, without knowing how it comes, I feel an extreme rage and hatred towards him, and

this produces, in such a way as to astonish beholders, a violent impetus to separate myself from him. Then all at once I experience great joy and comfort, which I express by cries and wailings like those of the demons. I feel in a reprobate state, I fear it, and the strange soul, which seems to be mine, is pierced as it were with sharp goads of despair, while the other soul in perfect trust laughs at such sentiments, and freely curses him who is the cause of them. I am even sensible that the very cries which proceed from my mouth, come equally from both these souls, and I cannot distinguish if they are produced by joy, or by the extreme fury which fills me. The dreadful trembling which seizes me when I am touched by the blessed sacrament, proceeds, it appears to me, as much from horror of its presence; which is insupportable, as from a heartfelt and consoling veneration; I cannot attribute these tremblings to one sentiment rather than another, nor is it in my power to restrain them. When prompted by one of these devils, I wish to make the sign of the cross on my mouth, the other devil with great rapidity turns away my hand, and catches my finger with the teeth to gnaw me with rage.

"I never find prayer more easy or more tranquil than during these troubles. While my body is rolling on the ground, and the ministers of the Church speak to me as a demon, and load me with maledictions, I cannot express to you what joy

I feel, having become a demon, not by rebellion against God, but by a calamity which shews me in a lively manner the state to which sin has reduced me; and thus taking to myself all the curses which are heaped upon me, my soul becomes more absorbed in her nothingness . . . When the demoniacs see me in this state, it is interesting to observe how they triumph, and how the devils defy me, saying, 'Physician, cure thyself; begone! Ascend now the pulpit. How delightful to see him preach after his rolling upon the ground!' What a subject of thankfulness for me to be thus the sport of the devils, and that the justice of God punishes me for my sins in this world! Such is my state at present almost every day. It gives rise to great disputes as to whether I am possessed or not, and as to the possibility that the ministers of the Gospel can fall into such difficulties. Some say this is a punishment from God for some error, some are of another opinion: for my part, I do not change, nor would I resign my fate for any other, being well convinced that nothing can be more advantageous than to be in the greatest distress. The extremity in which I find myself is such, that I have scarcely one free faculty. When I wish to speak, my mouth is closed; at mass I am suddenly stopped; at table I cannot convey the morsel to my lips; at confession I forget in a moment all my sins; and I feel that the devil comes and goes, as in his own house, within me. Directly I awake, he is with me at prayer; he deprives me

of consciousness when he pleases; when my heart would expand itself in God, he fills it with rage; when I would watch, he sets me asleep; and he publicly, by the mouth of the demoniac (the sister prioress) boasts that he is my master. Of all this, I contradict nothing, listening to the reproaches of my conscience, and bearing on my head the sentence pronounced against sinners, which I must suffer, and adore the designs of that Divine Providence to which every creature must submit. In general, I am tormented not by one devil only, but by two. One of these is Leviathan, opposed to the Holy Ghost. The operations of this false Paraclete are quite opposite to those of the true one, and they cause a desolation such as cannot be explained. He is the chief of this band of demons, and has the direction of this affair, which is one of the strangest that has perhaps ever been seen. We perceive in one spot paradise and hell; nuns who are in one sense Ursulas, and in another they exceed the most abandoned in every sort of irregularity, of abominations, of blasphemies, and fury.

"I beg of your reverence not to publish my letter, for you are the only person, except my confessor and my superior, to whom I have told so much. I implore of you to procure me prayers in my necessity. For entire weeks I am so stupid as to spiritual things, that I would gladly be taught to say my prayers, as if I were a child, and I wish some one would explain in the plainest manner the Paternoster

to me . . . The devil has said to me, 'I will deprive thee of every thing, and it will be needful for thee that thy faith remain; thou shalt become a fool.' . . . He has entered into an agreement with a witch to prevent me from addressing myself to God, and that he may be able to fetter my mind, which indeed he does very successfully, as he threatened; and in order to have any comprehension, I am obliged to place the blessed sacrament on my head, thus using the key of David to unlock my memory."

The demoniacs announced one day to Father Surin that the devil had taken possession of three hosts, to subject them to the most unworthy profanations. Surin offered the sacrifice of his life to God on condition that the devil should be obliged to fetch back the hosts which had fallen into his power. The hosts were recovered, but this incident completed the mental disorder of the father exorcist. Surin expected every moment to be overcome, and used to say, "I have pledged my existence; it appears as if the devil would profit of his rights, and destroy me by degrees with the mortal anguish he inflicts upon me."*

After two years passed almost continually in the torments of demonopathy, Father Surin quitted Loudun for Bourdeaux, where he had to return to the labours of his mission, and especially those of preaching. He returned to Loudun about the close of 1637, and soon relapsed completely into his

* Calmeil, De la Folie, t. i. p. 43.

former state, under the dominion of the old predominant ideas. In 1638 he made a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Francis of Sales, and in passing through Anneci he paid a visit to the celebrated Mère Chantal; but the journey and the visit did him little good, and during twenty years Father Surin could not be said, except at rare intervals, to be free from his afflictions. During that term, says Calmeil, he had "que de rares intervalles lucides."*

Michaud informs us, that "he was deprived of the external exercise of his faculties; he could neither walk, talk, nor write, and was a prey to violent temptations. In this humiliating condition it was considered, for his own safety, he ought to have been secluded. An object of contempt for some, and of disquietude for others, he had still sufficient freedom of spirit to make an offering of all his sufferings to God; and it was even during this time of afflictions and molestations of all kinds that he composed his 'Catechisme Spirituel.'"†

But from other accounts it appears that these periods of freedom of spirit and power of intelligence alternated with paroxysms long continued of desolation of soul, and all sorts of tribulations and mental disquietudes: "Le demon lui tenait l'esprit tellement lié des semaines entieres, qu'il restait stupide au point d'etre incapable de dire meme son Pater.

* De la Folie, t. ii. p. 63.

† Biographie Universelle de Michaud. *Art.* Surin.

Une fois le demon le jeta par sa fenetre sur la roche ou etait bati le monastere des Jesuites et il lui cassa la cuisse. Enfin il se guerit et vecut son temps."*

The Father Surin died in 1665, aged sixty-five years. He was only thirty-four years of age when he commenced his exorcisms at Loudun. His ascetic works were published at Avignon in 2 vols. in 12mo.

Demonopathy of Father Tranquille.

The fate of the Capuchin, Father Tranquille, was not less dreadful than that of Father Lactance. But the Capuchin resisted the frightful agonies of his disorder for a longer period. He lived to the spring of 1638. Father Tranquille was a native of St. Remy in Anjou; he, like the Father Surin, had been sent by his superior on an exorcising mission to Loudun; according to some writers, he was one of the most renowned preachers and ablest divines in regard to cases of so-called possession of his time; according to others, "un des plus terribles exorcistes de son temps." He suffered from stupor, heaviness of the head, confusion of memory, constriction of the heart, a number of visceral derangements which constituted the torment of his life. And all these afflictions of mind and body he ascribed to the influence of the demon. In the assaults made on him he had recourse to prayer, and to exorcism also at the hands of a brother exorcist. Sometimes he fell into a state of dereliction of spirit and of weariness

* See Calmeil, De la Folie, tom. 2. p. 64.

of life, in which he had feelings of aversion for matters connected with religion. When paroxysms of profound melancholy had terminated, on coming to himself he could not restrain his feelings of uncontrollable impatience. He had been so sorely tormented, as to be brought to roll on the ground, to protrude the tongue, to hiss, to swear, to blaspheme against Providence. On the day of Pentecost, when he had to preach, it was found necessary to make formal demands addressed to the devil, to get the faculty of preaching restored to the Capuchin friar. Such were the violence of his cries in the last moments of his life, that a part of the population of Loudun proceeded to the gates of the Capuchin monastery of that place, to be informed of the actual state of the exorcist. He had been four years in the exercise of his functions as an exorcist when he became alarmed for himself. He imagined that the devils, enraged with him for having proceeded on the task assigned to him in a spirit of humility and resignation to the divine will, had regularly assaulted and got possession of his body, though not an entire and uncontrolled possession of it. The demons however were held responsible for his dejection of spirit; for infesting his mind with horrid images, oppressing his heart, and for divers other sufferings. And under these frightful sufferings he languished and died.

The monks of his monastery evinced their conviction of the possession of their afflicted brother, and of his death being occasioned by the malign influ-

ence of evil spirits, when they placed the following inscription on his tomb: "Cy gyt l'humble Pere Tranquille de Saint Remy, Predicateur Capucin: les demons ne pouvant plus supporter son courage en son emploi d'exorciste l'ont fait mourir par leurs vexations."*

There is an alleged fact, and an opinion set forth in this inscription. In reference to the former, one is disposed to inquire, is it quite certain that any such inscription was written at all? but with regard to the latter, it is quite obvious there is a heterodox error in the opinion of the power claimed for the demons over the issues of life and death.

"The more," says Calmeil, "we enter into researches in the documents which concern the occurrences at Loudun, the less doubt there remains as to the sincerity and good faith of the exorcists:"† he might have added, the more reason there is to believe that the rite of exorcism was terribly abused by them.

Demonopathy of Father Lucas.

One of the brethren of the order of Father Tranquille, who had piously attended at the death-bed of the latter, Father Lucas, was all of a sudden seized with uncontrollable phrenzy whilst the last sacraments were being administered to his confrere. The account of a cotemporary writer is in the following words:—

"When they administered the sacrament of ex-

* Histoire des Diables, tom. ii. p. 66. † Ibid. tom. ii. p. 66.

treme unction to Father Tranquille, the demons feeling the efficacy of the sacrament, were obliged to raise the siege, but it was not to go any great distance, for they entered into the body of the good father, a very excellent member of his order, who was then present, and whom they have ever since tormented. This father they at first tormented with very extraordinary contortions and agitations, thrusting forth the tongue, and howlings of a very frightful kind, still redoubling their rage each time the unction was made on the dying man, and augmenting it still more at the appearance of the blessed sacrament which had been sent for."

And the same writer tells us, at the very moment the Father Tranquille expired, the state of cerebral exaltation of Father Lucas became worse than ever.

"The demons then falling once more on the poor friar, agitated him so strangely and horribly, that, although the number of brothers was considerable, they could not prevent him kicking with his feet in the direction of the defunct, until at length he was carried from the room, and he remained thus cruelly agitated, day and night, until after the interment of the Father Tranquille, so that it was necessary always to leave some of the brethren near his person to assist him."*

Monomania of Chauvet, the Civil Lieutenant of Loudun.

Chauvet, Civil Lieutenant of Loudun, had not shewn himself a very strong partizan of those who

* Hist. de Diables, p. 354.

carried on the proceedings against Grandier. At the commencement of them he had treated the accusation against Grandier with ridicule; but after he had witnessed those proceedings, and the last scene of the tragedy, his mind gave way, his courage failed, and he began to feel serious alarm for his safety. In this frame of mind he had made a journey into Poitiers, at a period of public festivities, that town being then thronged with vast multitudes. He met a person of distinction there whom he had formerly intimately known. He spoke with him for a long time on the subject of the possession at Loudun, and of the condemnation of Grandier.

This person remarked to him, that if he was accused of sorcery, or should be at any future time, he imagined he would run the greatest possible risk of his life; for ever since the trial and execution of Grandier, in similar circumstances, he felt that no man's life would be safe, however good his previous reputation might be.

This declaration seemed to produce a profound impression on the mind of the civil lieutenant Chauvet. In fact his mind appeared to be overwhelmed by it, and terror took such possession of his faculties, that his understanding was overpowered, and from that time he was no more *compos mentis*.*

Hallucinations of Manouri the surgeon.

Manouri, one of the medical officials concerned in the proceedings against Urban Grandier, who had

* Hist. des Diables, p. 209.

added to the sufferings of that unfortunate man, when employed in his surgical capacity in seeking for marks of a certain number of cicatrices, to be adduced as proofs of devil-marks supposed to have been made on the person of Grandier, also lost his senses. He had exhibited, it was said, a hardness of heart not frequently met with, multiplying evidences of this kind by the use of his probe, which he plunged into the flesh of the patient each time that he thought fit to extract from him a cry of anguish. His conscience eventually troubled him. His mind became agitated with fears of retribution, and at last he imagined that wherever he went he was pursued by the spectre of Grandier.

Here is a little graphic picture of the troubled conscience of an unworthy member of the medical profession, painted by a cotemporaneous artist, well worthy of presentation:—

"One evening, it is said, that he (Manouri the surgeon) returning from one of the most distant quarters of the town, where he had been to see a patient, walking in company with another man and his brother, who carried a lantern before him, cried out all of a sudden, as a man might do suddenly awakened from a dream, 'Oh, there is Grandier! What do you want with me?'

"He fell at the same time into a tremor and a fit of shuddering, from which he could not be restored. They conducted him to his house, he constantly speaking of Grandier, whom he imagined he had before his eyes. He was put to bed in the same state of terror

into which he had fallen, and with the same tremors. He lived only some days, during which time his condition did not improve. He died, believing always the spectre of the unfortunate Grandier was before his eyes, and endeavouring to keep it back to avoid the reproaches that were poured forth."*

In this case of the nuns of Loudun, we find a nervous hysteric disorder, connected with convulsive affections, trance, and catalepsy, not only allowed to run its course, but to' use a common expression, turned astray by injudicious treatment, and eventually converted into an epidemic madness, by the super-excitation of long-continued exorcisms, breaking out among a number of nuns in a convent, plunging a whole community into terror, causing several deaths, and the wreck of many understandings, and extending far and near, even to Nismes and Orleans, and to Chilon, which is situated some leagues from Loudun.

Father Surin gives an account of certain characters miraculously impressed on the forehead, the side, and one of the hands of the Mother Superioress. He says that on one occasion he was exorcising the Superioress in the presence of "un seigneur Anglais, fils de Mylord Montagu, who was not a Catholic, and two of his Protestant companions," when the demon Balaam put himself in a great rage. The Pere Surin told those gentlemen, "The demon had promised, as a signal of his departure, that he would write on her hand the name of St. Joseph instead of

* Histoire des Diables, t. ii. p. 69.

his own name, which he wished absolutely to write there. It was very difficult to get him to make this change. He had promised M. the Bishop of Poitiers that he would write the name Balaam, and this prelate was satisfied he should do so, because one obtains what can be had from those spirits of darkness, *comme de mauvais Payeurs*. But I wished (continues Surin) that he should put there the name of St. Joseph; he resisted me, saying, as he should never go to heaven, it would be a great pleasure to him that the mother should bear his name there. But nevertheless, as I absolutely desired it, he said he would write at the time of departing the name of the *Bon homme* (St. Joseph), although he was, after Mary, the greatest enemy he had in heaven. After this I took the sleeve of the mother, which the demon had torn, I raised it up, and my Lord Montagu took her hand by the tips of the fingers: the other gentlemen were near, and all three regarded (the hand) quite close, along with the other religious persons who were present. They saw clearly the name of Joseph *en caractères sanglans* on the hand, which they had previously seen (all) white: they were astonished at this marvel, and said as much to all present, and even gave their testimony to the fact, which was recorded officially. One of these gentlemen told me that he would publish every where that which he had seen, and that he would speak of it to the King of England. The following day the Seigneur Anglais came to me, and declared, that after having seen such a miracle, *il se faisait Catholique*. Afterwards

he went to Rome, and made a profession of faith before Pope Urban, to whom he recounted the fact. Since that time he received the order of priesthood, and became one of the Council of the King of France, leading the life of a very good ecclesiastic, and having a reputation for virtue."*

Long after the death of Grandier, the celebrated William Menage had an interview with the Superioress of the convent of Loudun, on which occasion he states that the latter declared in his presence:

"That when she was delivered from the devils that tormented her, an angel engraved upon her hand, the words Jesus, Maria, Joseph, Francois de Salles, and that she shewed him her hand on which those words were really engraved but lightly, and like those crosses we see on the arms of the pilgrims who have been in the Holy Land. He heard her say farther, that the angel engraved first, on the upper part of her hand, the name of Francois de Salles, that this word removed lower to give precedence to those of Joseph and Maria, and that all three removed lower still to make room for that of Jesus."†

But if the "Histoire des Diables de Loudun" may be credited (p. 466), the marks wholly disappeared on the hand of the Abbess "when the wrinkles

* Peines du Pere Surin; ouvrage inédit faisant suite à ses Œuvres. Edition de l'Association Catholique du Sacrè Cœur, 1828, p. 168.

† See Bayle's Dict. Hist. et Crit. *Art.* Grandier, in Vit. G. Menagii, p. 82.

of old age had made the skin dry and lean; the drugs that were used to mark these names being no longer able to imprint them, the good mother said then, that God had granted her prayers, and suffered those names to be defaced, which were the occasion of abundance of people coming to trouble and importune her, and draw her frequently from her acts of devotion."

Eleven years after the death of Grandier at the stake, we know that the mother Abbess of the Ursulines, the person whose madness mainly contributed to that judicial murder, was alive, from the relation of an interview with her in May, 1645, of Mons. Monconys, in his Voyages, part 1, pages 8 and 9. He states, that before the Superioress appeared, he had been kept waiting above half an hour, which made him suspect some artifice; that having asked to see the marks which *the devil*, she was possessed by, during an exorcism, had imprinted upon her hand:* "he saw, in letters of a blood colour upon the back of her left hand, beginning from the wrist to the little finger—Jesus; below, drawing towards the shoulder, Maria; lower, Joseph; and lower still in the fourth line, F. de Salles. She told him all the villanies of Grandier, who had been burnt for sending devils into her convent: and how a magistrate

* It will be observed that in Menage's account of his interview with the Mother Abbess, that she stated the marks were imprinted by an angel.

of the town, whose wife had been his (Grandier's) victim, had complained of it to her, and that they agreed to impeach him, notwithstanding the strong inclination this miscreant gave her by his conjuration, from which the mercy of God preserved her. At last, Mr. Monconys took leave of her, and desired to see her hand again, which she very civilly gave him through the grate: he observed to her that the letters were not so red as when she came, and that those letters seemed to peel off, and all the skin of her hand to rise, as if it had been a thin skin of starch-water dried up. With the end of his nail, by a gentle touch he took off part of the leg of the M—, at which she was very much surprised, though the place remained as fair as any other part of her hand. He was satisfied with this."* I am not able to refer to the work of Monconys, but it may be presumed the passage is faithfully rendered by Bayle.

But how is this account of the continued inveteracy against Grandier to be reconciled with the previous attempts at suicide of the Superioress, and the reported expression of remorse for the accusations that had been brought against him.

The statement attributed to her, relating to the wife of the magistrate, is at variance with the account of the public proceedings and exorcisms which took place, on a former occasion, when a similar charge

* Monconys, "Voyages," part 1, pp. 8 and 9, ap. Bayle's Hist. et Crit. Dict. Article, Grandier.

was preferred by one of the possessed nuns in a paroxysm of her disorder, to the great indignation of the magistrate who was present. Besides, it was a criminal act of the Superioress, if she was then sane, to have made any such unnecessary revelation, so seriously affecting the honour of a woman living with her husband, and holding a position in society.

With respect to the marks and letters on the hand of the Superioress, although some grounds may have existed for suspecting a recourse to artificial means for their renewal, in the way Menage and Monconys affirm, and of an apparent design of keeping up public belief in the marvellous character of the scenes in which the Superioress had been so prominent a performer, there is evidence of exaggeration and embellishment in both the accounts given by those writers of what came under their observation.

Balthasar de Monconys, was a native of Lyons; after having studied philosophy and mathematics he travelled in the East, to acquire a knowledge of the philosophy of Mercurius Trimegistus and Zoroaster. Disappointed in his researches he returned to France, and died at Lyons in 1665.

His "Voyages" were printed in 3 vols. 4to. and subsequently in 4 vols. 12mo. The bent of this writer's genius was rather to observe what was strange and curious, than to study what was useful, or to describe ordinary subjects.*

* See Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique, 1779.

Gilles Menage was born in 1613 at Angers. He studied the law and practised at the bar at Angers, Paris, and Poitiers. While at the latter place he probably became acquainted with the affairs of Loudun. At the time of Grandier's death he could not have been above twenty-one years of age; and this circumstance is worthy of observation in the consideration of his testimony in regard to those phenomena, which he treats as chimerical. He was a man of great erudition, and of vast powers of memory. But we are told that his mental characteristics were those—"d'un pedant aigre, meprisant et presomtueux: sa vie fut une guerre continuelle." He died in 1692.*

The author of "The History of the Edict of Nantes" treats the whole affair of the supposed possession of the nuns of Loudun as a conspiracy, got up with a fanatical design against the toleration allowed to Protestants by the Edict. "Many people looked on the farce that was played for many years by the Ursulines at Loudun as an affair of religion." †

There are no solid grounds for this opinion. The date of the principal Edict of Nantes, 1598, is a sufficient refutation of it. Between the Loudun affair

* Nouveau, Dict. Hist. *Art.* Menage.

† Histoire de 1ière. Edit de Nantes, &c. This work was published in Holland, under the auspices of the States General, in 1693, in 4to. It was translated into English by Cooke, and published in London in 1694, in 2 vols. 4to.

and that Edict there was an interval of thirty-five or thirty-six years. The work is a violent declamatory and unscrupulous polemical performance, full of bitterness and bigotry, treating of persecution and fanaticism in a kindred spirit of rancour and intolerance.

The monomaniacs of Loudun acted out in the intermissions of their malady, the drama which they composed in the paroxysms of their disorder.

There is a very curious observation in a work of one of the most original thinkers of the French metaphysicians of this century: "Rapports du Physique et du Mal." Par Mons. Maine de Biran. Publié par M. Cousin, Paris, 1834.

"J'ai approuvé par moi meme que l'effet sensitif de ces sortes de reves, n'est pas borné à la durée du sommeil, mais s'etend encore plus on moins, sur les dispositions de l'homme eveillè, et peut donner à ses sentimens comme à ses idées une direction particulière dont il ne se rend pas compte."*

If this observation holds good in the case of a person of sane mind, how much more strongly in the case of a monomaniac, must the effect of dreams be felt to extend, to the dispositions of the man awake, or who for a brief interval is to some extent composed and capable of directing attention to particular subjects.

The author of the "Démonomanie de Loudun," as well as Calmeil, reject the idea as absurd, and

* Biran, p. 128.

altogether at variance with evidence, the authenticity of which cannot be called in question, that the phenomena exhibited by the nuns of Loudun were feigned; that the sufferings they endured were simulated; that the impieties and execrable blasphemies they uttered were concocted for them to favour the opinion of their possession, in order to conceal some criminality, and to get rid of an obnoxious person. The author first referred to, observes: "Il est croyable que ces filles de maison out quelque honneur du monde en recommendation, qui les empeche de vouloir bien faire messéant. . . . Comment une fille bien née se porterait elle à faire en public des grimaces, des gestes indécens, a dire des paroles sales, à s'exposer à la risée et à la vue de tout le monde sans en avoir honte. . . . Le sexe, la qualité et condition des Ursulines y répugnent! Ajoutez qu'elles ne possédaient pas les connaissances nécessaires pour soutenir le rôle d'hypocrisie qu'on a voulu leur prêter; des religieuses confinées dans une petite ville ne pouvaient avoir qu'une idée très imparfaite des accidens qui constituent l'hystéro-démonopathie. Sans être rare, ce genre d'aliénation était à peine soupconné par le commun des médecins. Ceux qui ont calomnié la bonne foi des Ursulines n'ont pas tenu compte des souffrances physiques et morales qu'elles enduraient, et qui devaient à leurs yeux ressembler en quelque sorte aux tourmens d'une damnation anticipée. Des témoins occulaires ont pris note de ce qui se passait aux exorcismes des

Ursulines ; la lecture de ces pièces laisse dans l'amè une impression douloureuse ; ou a peine à comprendre que l'horreur d'une pareille situation n'ait pas plus souvent abouti à un acte de désespoir."*

The death of Grandier, as we have seen, did not leave the nuns of Loudun free from demonomania. In or about 1636, the Superioress was disturbed nightly in her sleep by singular visions, dreams, and apparitions, and while awake she had hallucinations of the senses of sight and hearing, and also of smell These disturbances and illusions made a great impression on her mind ; and when they became mixed up with demonopathy, she gave an account of them in a letter to the Father Surin. There is a remarkable expression in this letter, referring to one of the demons she was possessed by, who called himself Behemoth ; she says he represented to her the whole history of her life from the age of six years, and conveyed this history into her mind by a discourse which he made to her in her head : " un locution qu'il me faisait dans ma tète."†

This expression was assuredly not the invention of the nun, and it could scarcely have been suggested to her ; for nèither medical science nor psychological science at that period was in a condition to afford a knowledge of that rare phenomenon of supposed communications received independently of the sense of hearing, which is now referred to insanity, and Calmeil has observed on this subject : " Les manigraphes

* La Fleche, Demonopathie de Loudun. Ap. " De la Folie," tom. ii. p. 17.

† Histoire des Diables, p. 374.

savent combien ce phenoméne est rare dans tous les genres de folie."*

Reports to the number of twenty-four or twenty-five, made by physicians who were called in to the nuns of Loudun, the report also of the University of Monpellier on this case, clearly shew that there are some circumstances connected with it well attested by medical, as well as other evidence, which are extremely remarkable.

1. On several occasions, after the most violent convulsive paroxysms had endured for a considerable time, on one occasion for two hours, the pulse on being felt was not found unusually accelerated.

2. During the state of unconsciousness, or ecstacy, insensibility to pain was clearly proved to exist, punctures were made in the flesh without any issue of blood.

3. Immobility of the body was produced at the command of the exorcists, during and in the middle of the most violent paroxysms.

4. There was frequently a howling noise like that of a dog, which seemed to proceed from the chest rather than the throat.

5. Bending of the body backwards into the form of a bow, "le pli courbement et remuement de corps," the head touching sometimes the soles of the feet, and divers other singular and unusual contortions, were common.

6. The velocity of the movements of the head backwards and forwards, alternately striking against the back and the chest, was remarkable.

* De la Folie, tom. ii. p. 26.

7. There was also sudden tumefaction of the tongue, of the throat and face, and immediate change of colour.

8. The immobility of the eye, and its fixed regard while in a state of apparent trance, were invariably observed.

9. There was an unusual exaltation of some of the intellectual faculties in that intranced or somnambulist state, a power of improvising discourses, of comprehending sufficiently a language that had not been learned by the intranced to make replies in their own tongue.

One thing is very remarkable, in all the different forms of epidemic insanity of the 16th and 17th century, manifested in perverted ideas of religious influences and obligations, and demoniacal possession, we find some or several of the alleged phenomena which obtained the name of Mesmeric, some seventy years ago, and which are known at the present time and credited or combated as those of animal magnetism:

1. Magnetic sleep.
2. Insensibility to pain.
3. Clairvoyance, inner vision or thought-reading.
4. Power of the magnetiser to influence volition, and control the senses and sensations of the magnetized.
5. Rapture and communication with the spiritual world.
6. Knowledge of languages by intuition suddenly acquired or regained, being previously unknown or long forgotten.

Several of the phenomena ascribed to animal magnetism we certainly find manifested in the cases of demonopathy, referred to in the preceding pages.

On the occasion of the exorcism of Madam Sazilli before the Duke of Orleans, when that poor lady was thrown into convulsions, a state of insensibility, of trance, and many of the chief phenomena were produced by artificial means, analogous to those which pass by the name of Mesmeric, Calmeil observes: "The exorcist produced here at will, catalepsy, hysteric convulsions, a scene of somnambulism, with a predominance of ideas having relation to demonopathy.

"Two evil spirits were accused of producing all this functional disorder. Now, the magnetic power determines a part of the effects, which the demons then, were held responsible for."*

On one occasion, after the Superioress had undergone prolonged exorcisms, during which she had uttered the most astounding impieties, Calmeil states she made a discourse on the subject of a religious exercise proposed by Father Surin, which lasted for two hours, at the conclusion of it, she forgot every thing she had improvised. And Calmeil hereupon asks the question—"Did she yield then to the inspiration of somnambulism?" "She certainly was in an ecstasy, when her face assumed a purple hue, and her eyes remained fixed, regarding an image of the Virgin."†

* De la Folie, t. 2. p. 29. † Ibid. p. 20.

It is right to observe that Calmeil, who is struck with the similarity of some of the phenomena of the hystero-convulsive malady of the nuns of Loudun, with those of somnambulism, and expresses his opinion of that similarity on several occasions, in his comments on the demonomania of the Loudun community, is one of the most strenuous, and perhaps the ablest of all the opponents of mesmerism and clairvoyance, as the concluding section of his work abundantly proves, entitled "Le delire transitoire qui produit par fois le magnetisme mèconnu par Mesmer, qui attribue à l'action d'un fluid universel les accidens convulsifs, les phenomènes sensitifs, toutes les modifications functionnelles qui prennent naissance autour de ses baquets."*

The arguments of most importance, having a bearing on the subject of those inquiries adduced by eminent medical men of our time, opposed to animal magnetism, may be thus briefly stated.

That the phenomena of modern mesmerism have been observed as symptoms of cerebral or mental disease, in a vast number of those prevailing *egaremens de l'esprit humain*, delusions and hallucinations which have existed in various countries in an epidemic form, in both divisions of demonomania, demonolatria, and demonopathy, and in convulsive theomania, and various forms of hysteria.

That in some one or other of those epidemics, one or more of the following phenomena have been found or produced, paralysis of the senses, immobility, ri-

* De la Folie, tome 2. p. 434.

gidity or flaccidity of muscles; insensibility to pain, dominion of the operator over the will of the person influenced, and not only over the faculties of men, but the functions of animal life; exaltation of the intellectual powers, somnambulism, a state of mental excitement, producing exquisite powers of penetration and perception, putting the party acted on into a state of intimate mental correspondence with the operator; and thus originating by the inspiration of imagination and memory, pretensions to the power of reading the thoughts of others—claims to the production of clairvoyance, and all the other feigned, or unfeigned phenomena which now are known under the name of mesmeric.

The same phenomena therefore, observes Calmeil, which were produced two or three centuries ago in those maniacal epidemics, to which reference has been made in the preceding pages, the clairvoyance of the possessed women, for instance, of Loudun, universally believed to be owing to the influence of demoniacal agency on the brain, the mesmerists now may be expected to attribute to the same influence. A physician of a philosophical mind has observed: "In considering these histories (of epidemic mania) we cannot help reflecting on the curious circumstance, that every one of the strange and anomalous phenomena of the hysteric stage were produced on a great scale. We see the propagation of the disease by sympathy; the combination of the voluntary or involuntary in the acts of the sufferers; *the tendency*

to deceive for the purpose of exciting that sympathy; and lastly, the production of the mesmeric or magnetic phenomena, as a common occurrence."*

And the same eminent physician has elsewhere observed: "One of the most remarkable conditions of nervous or hysteric disease, is the tendency to feign, *and this in itself is a symptom of insanity.*" This observation is indeed most just, and deserving of the greatest consideration, and not only by those who have to do with questions of medical jurisprudence, but with subjects of a biographical nature also.

It will occur to every one who reads the account of the accusations brought against Grandier, of his condemnation and death, to inquire, did the malady which afflicted the supposed possessed nuns of Loudun, so utterly destroy the moral sense that "the small still voice of conscience" was wholly stifled in the breasts of the accusants? In the paroxysms of hystero-convulsive delirium similar to theirs, as in all crises of actual insanity, there can be no doubt that conscience, for the time being, ceases to be a rule of right or wrong. But when the violent paroxysms of monomania have abated, and there is an intermission, which may be characterized as one of quiet or liberation from orgasms of extreme excitement of the nervous system and exaltation of imagination, rather than as one of absolute freedom

* Dr. Stokes, see Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, new series, Dub. 1846. vol. i. p. 4.

from prevailing hallucinations, and functional derangement of some specific kind, it may be reasonably believed that a positive consciousness of evil appertains to the commission of certain actions, universally known to be impious or unjust. And so far conscience is to be distinguished from reason, for the latter at any period of the existence of such a malady as that of the nuns of Loudun, cannot be said to be in a sane condition. A very eminent lawyer and metaphysician, Lord Brougham, has made the following lucid and explicit observations in an adjudication on the will of Sarah Gibson, in reference to the subject above-noticed:

"If the being or essence, which we term the mind, is unsound on one subject, provided that unsoundness is at all times existing on that subject, it is only sound in appearance, for if the subject of the delirium be presented to it, the unsoundness of mind, as manifested by believing in the suggestions of fancy, as if they were realities, would break out: consequently, it is as absurd to speak of this as a really sound mind, a mind sound when the subject of the delusion is not presented, as it would be to say, that a person has not the gout, because his attention being diverted from the pain by some other powerful sensation, he for the moment was unconscious of his visitation. It follows from hence, that no confidence can be placed in the acts, or in any act of a diseased mind, however apparently rational that act appear to be, or may in reality be."

The consciousness of evil appertaining to the commission of acts universally recognized as unjust, no doubt exists, and is never wholly lost in those intervals of quiet which take place in hystero-convulsive delirium; and which occurred in the cases of the nuns of Loudun. But the morbid condition of the mind, to which their original hallucinations were attributable, still continued, though perhaps to some extent modified by circumstances. But it is one thing in such intervals of quiet or intermissions of monomania to have the consciousness of evil appertaining to criminal acts, and another and very different thing to have soundness of reason, and its first and greatest attribute, strength of will to obey its legitimate behests and inspirations. "The wretch (says Dr. Winslow) devoid of conscience is of course morally defunct; but we must never forget that conscience is a relative, not an absolute, term, and, like other faculties of the mind, it requires education, direction, and discipline."

These are words of great wisdom: if we apply them to the moral condition of the nuns of Loudun, we must come to the conclusion that all the education, direction, and discipline of their minds during the period of their hallucinations was calculated to confirm them. In each paroxysm of their disorder it will be readily admitted they were unconscious of right or wrong—they were, to all intents and purposes, on the score of accountability (pro hac vice), morally as well as mentally defunct. In the in-

termissions of their disease, the composure of their minds was more apparent than real. It might be put an end to at any time by a recurrence to the subject of their delusions, or the sight of their exorcisors. That state of apparent composure of mind, that period of remission, was never exempt from that remarkable tendency of insanity—to feign, which, in the case of the nuns of Loudun, had been fostered by an injudicious mode of dealing with their hallucinations.

In this condition of double consciousness, having a firm conviction of the reality of the hallucinations under which they laboured, and a consciousness of evil in the commission of certain acts and contrivance of certain artifices, which may not have been ever wholly lost in such remissions, the nuns of Loudun cannot be accounted sane. The very tendency in those intervals of comparative composure, to feign things confirmatory of the madness which belonged to the violent paroxysms of their phrenzy, when under the terrible excitement caused by prolonged exorcisms, must be regarded as a state of moral mania—in which the power of reason to guide the power of the will to control their acts, ceased to be vital, over-ruling, energising influences.

The unsound state of the mind, in the period of such intermissions, might be perhaps characterized as that diseased state of the moral intelligence—moral insanity—which eminent French writers designate, "Manie instinctive sans delire;" and Dr.

Duncan describes as "an estrangement of the moral sentiments without any lesion of the reasoning powers." Or still better described in an observation of a medical philosopher, eminently wise and erudite, Dr. Forbes Winslow—"These faculties, moral and intellectual, although co-operating and blending together, are so many distinct powers, differing in their mode of operation, and subject each in its turn to characteristic aberration; but as the mind can be occupied only with one idea at a time, it is as a *whole* affected while under the influence of any specific lesion."*

The test of responsibility in questions of sanity or unsoundness of mind in criminal cases, does not depend, as some lawyers seem to think, on the ability *alone* to recognize the law of conscience, that discriminates right from wrong. An inability of the intellectual powers or executive principle to guide its operations, arising from cerebral disease, must be taken into account, and duly considered before such questions can be determined.

Power to recognize the dictates of conscience, and power to adopt them, are presumed to exist in every sane mind. But this condition of mental sanity, and therefore of accountability, requires more than the existence of psychical perceptions, or an intuitive moral sense, it demands for their operation—freedom of mind to will and to act, power to compare—to discriminate—to recall—a state of clear self-

* Psychological Journal, vol. v. p. 466, *Art.* Law of Lunacy.

consciousness, and just appreciation of one's own rights and moral duties, as well as those of others.

In madness that condition of mind does not exist. In the remissions of any one of its forms, alienation, dementia, phrenzy, or monomania, "on raisonne comme on peut, non pas comme on veut."

The reasoning of the monomaniac tends to the creation of an opinion in the belief of the reality of the images which are the creatures of his hallucinations. He feigns in the interval of quiet, in order to make others believe what he was forced to believe himself in a state of violent delirium.

The promptings of natural principles co-existent with, though independent of perceptions effected through the senses, constitute that moral sense, or intuitive moral perception, the "mens sibi conscia recti," which includes an individual consciousness, that clear knowledge of some general obligation to a supreme power, which made "the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things written in the law." This innate moral principle, Conscience, co-exists with intellectual powers which guide its operation. It is identified with each mental constitution, co-ordinate with reason, and on their harmony the mind's health is mainly dependent.

Aubin, in his "Histoire des Diables de Loudun," manifest no knowledge whatsoever of mental disease, and as little acquaintance with the simplest elements of psychology, as with those of sound criticism. He disposes compendiously of all the difficulties of the

case by banding together energumenes and exorcists in one common category—impostors. But this opinion is hardly worth the trouble of refutation. Monomaniacs who feign are not impostors, when they attempt in their intermissions to support their hallucinations by false appearances and representations. The maniac who believes himself a king has recourse to a variety of stratagems to give an outward appearance of reality to his pretensions; his trumpery insignia of royalty are no evidences of imposture but of insanity.

The preceding accounts can leave no doubt on any reasoning intelligent mind, that the nuns of Loudun were afflicted with hallucinations, which had all the known characters of monomania; that they had a full conviction on their minds of being possessed by evil spirits; that they feigned things which were incompatible with actual evidences of a sane mental condition; that they were capable of reasoning right on every subject, except the one on which their fixed ideas were disordered.

CHAPTER X.

EPIDEMIC MONOMANIA AND DEMONOMANIA IN CONVENTS AT LOUVIERS, NEAR EVREUX: 1642—1647. AND AT AUXONNE: 1652—1662.

THIS convent had not been long founded at Louviers, in the department of Eure, when demonopathy manifested itself in a manner in some respects more extraordinary than it had done at Loudun.

The details of this disastrous malady are given at considerable length by Calmeil (vol. 2. p. 13), taken from a cotemporaneous narrative by Lebreton, and from a treatise entitled "La Pietè affligèe: ou Discours Historique et Theologique de la Possession des Religieuses, dites de Saint Elizabeth à Louviers. Par Esprit de Bosroger Capucin, Rouen, 1752, in 4to."

For some time the spiritual direction of the sisters of this convent was exercised by an ecclesiastic of high repute for his ardent zeal and exalted piety, the *curé* Father Picard, whose religious sentiments were mingled somewhat with a mystic and contemplative devotion. The extreme asceticism and enthusiasm of this director are considered to have

influenced a great deal the delusion of this community.

The exorcist, Bosroger, who narrates the sufferings of its members, in his account of the curé has unconsciously drawn a picture of a saintly mortified person, intending, however, to depict a pretender to the character of a person eminently spiritual.

Bosroger says, "His gait grave and measured, his beard long and neglected, the pallor of his countenance the picture of mortification; the sweetness of his discourse, his condescension towards those who spoke with him, the ardour of his zeal, the evidence of thoughtfulness and reflexion exhibited in his actions, the reflection of spirit marked in his lineaments, his serious aspect, his composed demeanour, words breathing fervour, which conveyed an idea of exquisite consciousness of God and of Paradise, sighs expressive of deep feelings, his mortified mien, his long masses, during which he appeared to be esctatic, his ejaculations of prayer mingled with sobs, suddenly arrested and succeeded by a peaceful stillness . . . all about him indicated something grand in its character."*

These are not the right traits to give an impostor, a hypocrite, and a deceiver. They would do for a saint; they might possibly serve for the description of an honest, mistaken enthusiast, also.

Poor Father Picard's good name and fair fame, however, were dragged after his death before a tri-

* La Piete Affligée, p. 44.

bunal of justice, and his memory was consigned to obloquy; and his bones were dug up and burned ignominiously in the public place of execution, because some sick women in the cloisters of the convent at Louviers had become delirious, and in their ravings, talked nonsense about their deceased director.

One thing is very certain, whatever may have been the prudence or imprudence of the deceased director, the community of this convent aspired to an extraordinary degree of perfection, which they sought to attain by austerities and mortifications of excessive rigour, passing the greater part of the night in prayer; fasting with such strictness, as to leave them attenuated; inflicting corporal punishments on themselves of extraordinary severity; and, even in the depth of winter nights, leaving their dormitory to lie down in snow.

The results of such imprudence, which might well have been expected, eventually manifested themselves. In the autumn of 1642, Father Picard died after a short illness. Several of the community, whose bodily and mental powers had been already shaken, afflicted by this loss, and troubled by the remonstrances and reprimands of the new director, fell into a state of great nervous disquietude. At the end of some months, eighteen of the sisters, out of a community of fifty, were affected with convulsions and monomania; and of the number attacked, the nuns who previously exhibited most veneration

for holy things, and religious observances, were those who held them in greatest horror from the time the disorder set in. Throughout the day their delirious language was of a nature to shock pious ears. From time to time they gave way to transports of frenzy, and committed numberless extravagances. In the night they were afflicted with visions, spoke to themselves, and troubled the repose of the community with loud plaints and frightful howlings. The sentiments, habits, tastes, and conduct of those affected women were perverted, diametrically opposed to every thing that might be expected from persons of their education, profession, and former piety.

The presentation of the ciborium, the object of previous veneration, excited in them transports of terror, rage, and indignation, and agonising visceral sensations. Hallucinations existed of the sight, hearing, smell, and touch. Finally these afflicted creatures gave themselves up to the conviction that they were possessed, harassed, maltreated, burned internally and torn by demons; and that all their torments were inflicted to terrify their souls, to occasion their final loss, to seduce their thoughts and feelings from God.

Their convulsions assumed all the forms of which we read in accounts of epilepsy, tetanus and hysteria. Spasms of the members separately, or of both the superior and inferior extremities, would cause the most astounding postures, and frequently

revolting positions. The body would be bent backwards like a bow, and retained in that fixed curved state of *apisthotonos* for a length of time, or bent forwards similarly in *emprosthotonos.* The paroxysms of convulsions would be long protracted; they would fall into a trance, lose all consciousness and sensibility, the globe of the eye would become immoveable, and the action of respiration would be apparently suspended. When the violence of the convulsive access was over, they would utter loud cries, vociferations, howlings, and at other times we are told "les mouvements etoient tumultueux."*

An author whom Calmeil cites, and styles a theologian (but for whose work I have sought in vain in many libraries), gives the following account of the possession of the nuns of Louviers, and it is evident from the way he expresses himself, and from the place where his treatise was published, which was not far from Louviers, that he was not only a cotemporary of the persons he writes about, but was likely to have a local knowledge of the matters he describes, certainly with an air of truthfulness: "There are fifteen nuns in the convent of St. Louis (at Louviers), who declare themselves between seven and eight months grievously tormented by demons, and of whose lives and conduct all the other sisters of the same convent, not pos-

* J. Lebreton, La defense de la verité touchant la possession des religieuses de Louviers. Evreux, 1643, in 4to. 27 pages.

sessed, give the strongest testimonies of discretion, ingenuousness and piety. And even the same young person they suspected of having given herself up to witchcraft, and caused their possession, who had dwelt many years in the same convent with them, on being confronted with them, the pretended sorceress had no reproaches to make them, but on the contrary acknowledged them as very good sisters, as even at present may be seen by the process, which has been instituted in this case, and such they appear even now during their intervals (of reason) to all those who observe them, and particularly to those who direct their consciences."

Lebreton then proceeds to detail those perversions of the religious sentiments which have been already noticed. He describes in the following terms the strange contortions of their bodies, and particularly some of them in detail, which have been briefly referred to:

"They bend themselves backward in the form of a bow without using their hands, and in such a manner that the whole body is supported on the forehead, as much and even more than on their feet, and all the rest (of their frame) is in the air, and they remain a long time in this posture, and repeat it seven or eight times. After all these efforts, and a thousand others, continued sometimes for four hours, principally during the exorcisms, and especially (at this time of) the greatest afternoon heats of the dog-

days, on coming out of these (paroxysms) they are found as healthy, as cool, as calm, and the pulse as firm and as regular as if nothing had happened to them."

"There are others," continues Lebreton, "who swoon and faint away during the exorcisms, as if at will, in such a manner that their *deliquium* commences, when they have the visage most inflamed and the pulse most strong. During this fainting fit, which lasts sometimes half-an-hour or more, one cannot detect either by the ear or the hand any respiration. And they come out of this fainting fit without the employment of any remedy, and in a way yet more wonderful than that in which they had fallen into it; for it is by first stirring the ankle, then the foot, then the leg, then the thigh, then the abdomen, then the chest, and then the throat, and finally by a great movement dilating (those parts), the face remaining always nevertheless apparently destitute of all impressions made by the mind, regaining however expression all of a sudden, making hideous gestures *en grimacant*; but frequently howling anew, then falling back into their violent agitations and previous contortions."*

The following are the proofs which Bosroger gives of the possession of the nuns of Louviers:—

The 1st proof of this kind (says the exorcist) is taken from the incessant, horrible, and impious blasphemies which these poor young women continually uttered, which is of itself an incontestable proof of

* Lebreton, p. 7; see Calmeil, tom. 2. pp. 77 to 79.

diabolical influence. For it is not conceivable that so large a number of young persons devoted to religion—seventeen or eighteen nuns brought up religiously and morally—should profane their lips with so many blasphemies. It is a folly to say that madness produces these results, for on all other subjects they reasoned sanely.

The 2nd proof of their possession is, they give utterance also to expressions such as the most abandoned characters might alone be expected to pronounce; and yet on all subjects except that one, which had reference to their possession, they were sane. This procedure was entirely at variance with their habits, education, and purity of mind, therefore it was foreign to them; a devil had got possession of them.

The 3rd proof of their possession is, that the description given by the bewitched of the demons' sabbath, the goat, the horrors committed in that assembly, and all the circumstances which they detail respecting it, is so astounding, that every person of sound judgment must conclude that it was their demons who presided over it, and who had revealed those horrible things.

The 4th proof is, a strange aversion which the afflicted sisters had for the most sacred rites of their religion, which produced in them such transports of rage, of resistance, such contortions, and outbreaks of impiety. Whence could proceed this disorder? Not from a young woman who is seen a moment

after adoring God, but from the demon, the enemy of those sacred rites.

The 5th proof is, that these opposite actions occurred almost simultaneously. In the words of the exorcists: "We have seen several times these young women on taking leave of their friends express a thousand regrets and great sorrow for the absence of persons who were necessary to them, and even shed tears, and at the same instant utter execrations, maledictions, imprecations, (saying) the devil may break your neck, that he may carry you to the infernal regions,—qu'il t'enfonce dans les entrailles de Beelzebub .... Whence came such contrary movements, except from two contrary spirits, from that which was natural to the young woman, and that which was from the influence of the demon, it being impossible, morally speaking, that one spirit only should effect so many different impulses, and should pass so promptly from one extreme to the other."

The 6th proof is afforded by the frightful internal operations of the demons, insupportable temptations of all kinds, inordinate afflictions of spirit more than human, inconceivable artifices, subtle snares, internal oppressions, withdrawal of all spiritual lights and influences, the result of the peculiar malice of the demons against these poor young women, trying by all stratagems to make them believe that they themselves effected those operations; a state in fine, "certainly altogether above human strength

(and inconsistent) with common and ordinary grace."

The 7th proof is,—"it is not at all to be presumed that so many young women of different temperaments, and otherwise in very good health should be afflicted by the same disorder, having for the same symptoms words of impiety, 'ou de saletés,' or that they could be insane persons, labouring under the same madness, yet reasoning very well upon all other matters."*

Calmeil observes that the proofs of possession furnished by Bosroger, would not stand the test of modern medical criticism, on the part of any physician acquainted with the perversions of the moral sentiments, habits, and affections of the insane. "Those reasonings of Bosroger," he says, "shew us that formerly the compatibility of a kind of reason, with a sudden manifestation of certain functional lesions occurring to a great number of persons was deemed absolutely impossible."†

One of the tormented sisters wrote a letter to her confessor, pouring forth her sorrows, her ravings, and her despair, in language as expressive, as it was in the power of words to be, of the most terrible affliction of mind, body, and spirit, that it is possible to conceive. I give a literal translation of her letter from the original French, as it is recorded by the exorcist of the possessed nuns of the community.

* Bosroger, pp. 321, &c. † De la Folie, t. 2. p. 81.

"Darkened by the most horrible visions of hell my mind permits no exercise of my reasoning faculties, nothing, save blasphemies. And as I would not willingly conduct myself in this devilish manner in public, I endeavour without success, to divert my thoughts in every manner. Therefore it is I now pour forth my fury to you, and seek to brighten my darkness by the flames of my despair. But, behold! My troubles increase, in place of order I encounter nothing but confusion, I perish when I could escape, it appears to me, all my affairs go astray, never any peace, all is disorder and rage. Blasphemy is my nourishment, and my existence is preserved by the contempt and annihilation of the Word. I despise the advantage you take of what I say; I will teach you that it is not what you imagine, but that it is a girl who desires that the thought of God may be for ever *maudit en toi.* I do not understand what I am now saying; in my mind, and in my senses, there is a dreadful combat, and my heart is inconceivably hardened. I certainly think I deceive myself, I prefer to flatter myself with a figurative idea, and a particular conduct on the part of God, rather than to see myself in a perpetual fury, hatred, despair, and rage against God and man. I prefer to be in a maddening state of delusion; I know well what I should do, but I know not what hinders me from doing it. It is impossible for me to act otherwise than I do. If a creature could suffer greater fury, and in a greater

degree, I would suffer it, but that cannot be without its own destruction. I know not why I speak thus, without either reason or connection; the meaning of it will some day be revealed to you. I must seriously in truth confess that you give me extreme pain by the prayers you offer for this condemned house; but those special prayers which you add to the others, make me desperate. I cannot submit to all you require. Command, I beseech you, no more, if you would not end my miserable life by despair. All I can do is to unite myself to the hatred of all the blasphemies which are committed, which have been, and ever shall be, committed. Do not oblige me to repeat praises; it is difficult to praise what one hates above all the world. I am forced here to compare myself to mankind in general; you understand perfectly what I would say. Who can be more full of hatred than a person who is united to the devil? How I rave in my hatred; how I honour my hatred which supports me against an infinite power! . . . Love, thou that wert once the second principle of my being and my delight in God, thou art now the first thing to be irreparably changed. Woe to me!"*

The writers of romance may tax their wits in vain to concoct a letter expressive of profound despair, comparable in its horrors and its terrors to the preceding communication.

* Bosroger, La Pietè Affligèe, p. 284. Ap. Calmeil, De la Folie, tom. ii. p. 81.

We are informed by Bosroger, that the sufferers of Louviers were afflicted by frightful apparitions, and in his account of these we find evidence of hallucinations of a marked kind of all the senses.

The sister Barbe de St. Michel, he tells us, frequently at night, in her cell, saw a great number of candles lit. . . . She could not take three steps in her cell without her knees bending under her, and then falling to the ground. The grated window of the convent chapel appeared all illuminated when this sister approached the blessed sacrament. Terrible phantoms of men and monstrous animals persecuted her, and disappeared by the chimney.

Another sister, Marie de Saint Nicolas, was tormented by the apparition of an old man with a long beard, who resembled the deceased *curè*, Father Picard. This apparition sat at the foot of her bed, and repeated words which signified that the sister Madeleine was entirely in the power of the demons.

The sister Anne de la Nativitè, began to have visions and apparitions from the year 1642. It would be useless to detail all these hallucinations, and the torments which were endured by the sufferer. The devil and his angels were never absent from her thoughts during those sleepless nights.

To this state of things succeeded convulsions, ecstasies, trances, suspension of consciousness and of sensibility. This sister was often found in her cell stretched on the floor as stiff as if she was a corpse. At other times her senses were quite alienated.

The sister Marie du Saint Esprit, Bosroger states, was similarly tormented at night in her cell. One night she felt an insupportable weight on her head. Three times it was imposed there: but although she could see, and was conscious of what was passing, she had no power to lift a hand, to stir, or to remove that terrible weight; and while thus suffering, during an hour or so, two devils came, one large, of a man's stature, who sat down in a chair, the other small, about a cubit high, who sat down on her stomach, in the manner that a monkey is accustomed to sit. And then the two demons began talking about the affairs of the convent, and its possessions, at their ease, for they had cast the poor sister into a state of immoveability. The little devil all this time bantered her on her helplessness, and called on her to utter solemn words, which she could not do, saying to her, "*dis donc ton verbum*," at the same time holding the right hand of the sister on her heart with his claws. They (the two demons) conversed between themselves, and uttered horrible impieties, and eventually disappeared, mounting upwards, giggling and laughing, and filling the air with extraordinary outcries.

The sister Marie du Saint Sacrement, in the beginning of 1642, was tormented by apparitions, assuming the terrific guise of demons at one time and angels of light at another. On one occasion the apparition she was quite sure was no phantom, but a true sorcerer, for when she was dragged in

her cell by the latter, and she endeavoured to free herself from him, she found her hands besmeared with grease with which the body of the sorcerer had been anointed. On another occasion an apparition came before her in the semblance of an angel of light, and declared solemnly to her that the director of the convent was a true magician, and shortly would reveal an unholy passion to her. And then this seeming angel of light began to practise transformations. The apparition finally assumed the form of the director of the convent, his gestures, garb, and words. He gave the same spiritual counsels and consolations, which the director was in the habit of doing. This apparition was again seen one morning in her cell, and that revelation was made to her which had been previously intimated.

She said to this apparition after the revelation in question had been followed by diabolical suggestions: "This is not our father, it is a devil, who has taken his form to deceive me. Begone, vile wretch! in the name of our Lord and Saviour, be thy deceit discovered, and that I may know who thou art!" She made the sign of the cross. The apparition vanished, and after a short time came back in a surplice, as if about to administer to her the sacrament, and repeating the customary words of comfort and consolation. But she refused all spiritual assistance, except in the choir, at his hands. Suspicions of the director being a sorcerer now sprung up in her mind, but later apparitions dispelled them for a

time. One day, however, the demon having appeared as an angel of light, offered her proofs in her cell that the director was a sorcerer. She verified in the chapel facts which had been intimated to her by the apparition, of certain marks being affixed to the sacred elements; and these marks of witchcraft, according to the apparition, were affixed by the director. She informed the latter of all that had been said to her by the apparition against him (the director.) "He remained (she states) altogether astounded, and knew not what to say. At length, however, he replied to me, 'My daughter, you know whom I am, and who are my parents; I leave it to you to judge what object would I have, and who could inveigle me into such wickedness. You know my life, have I ever given bad example?'" The sister adds, that "he adduced other reasons which made me think the contrary of that diabolical illusion."

These were terrible times most assuredly when the life, honour, and reputation of a minister of religion depended on the hallucinations of a monomaniac woman, like several of the community, utterly incapable of exercising free will, or of repressing morbid impulses and depressing influences, of distinguishing the illusions of the senses from real sensations, and whose sensitive faculties were as much perverted as the moral feelings and perceptions.

Another sister, said to be possessed by the demon Accaron, on the occasion of the Bishop of Evreux passing in procession, being in the hands of the ex

orcist in the choir, had to be restrained from offering violence to the venerable bishop. "And while the exorcist," says Bosroger, "was holding her, the demon eluded his attention, and raised the young woman in the air, over the leaning rail of a bench three feet high, desiring to carry her away, as he said, to the vault of the roof; which he was not able to do as the exorcist still held her, and the exorcist was cursed by him furiously on that account the remainder of the day. That only which he (the demon) was able to effect was to throw down both the young woman and the exorcist nearly at the same moment underneath the bench. Both fell to the ground in the choir, and that so suddenly that the exorcist entrapped (by the demon) *illudè* found himself stretched on the ground before he was aware of it."*

Again we are informed by Bosroger, that "the demon Dagon, cast the sister, De Saint Esprit, who is a very large girl, into the court of the convent, from a height more than four or five steps backwards upon the pavement, which is of free-stone, and by a wonderful effort caused her to fall on the back of her head, with a great noise, and to the terror of all the community; and after having rolled her violently upon the ground the girl rose up without any inconvenience or pain. The same Dagon made this sister, by the means of some old pieces of wood,

* Bosroger, p. 239.

to climb upon a wall of ten feet high, and having led her along the said wall to a place where there was no way of getting down, there being neither a ladder or any other thing for that purpose; after several of the sisters had for a long time begged the possessed to advance along the wall to some place where she could return to them without danger, and that an exorcist who had hastened there had given her a command, and in order the better to command the demon, had also begun on his knees to repeat the *Chapelet*, Dagon cried out in a great fury—*Diantre*, if thou dost not stop the *Chapelet* I will throw thee down this *chienne*, and immediately letting her see the peril in which she was, he gave her a great fright, and threw her from the top of the wall upon stones and tiles which were there; and notwithstanding that violence she was so wonderfully preserved that she received neither any damage or wound in her whole body, but merely for a time was a little frightened and stunned. One morning the sister of the Saint-Esprit was, as it were, wrapt in an ecstasy."* The bishop, we are informed, commanded the demon to leave her at liberty. Immediately she experienced contortions and paroxysms of phrenzy, and suddenly her demon departed like a flash of lightning, but the sister was thrown against the fire-place with her face and one of her hands in contact with the bars, and when she

* Bosroger, pp. 342, 343.

was dragged from the fire it was found that she had received no injury.

The sister du Saint Sacrament, under the influence of a demon, climbed a tree, and was seen with consternation in imminent peril of her life, proceeding from the trunk to the small branches, and supporting her whole weight on them, and moving with such apparent lightness and absence of all effort, that a bystander exclaimed—"She is flying like a bird." A ladder was brought, but the demon would not let her descend by it, she came down as she went up, and sustained no injury. But the most extraordinary of all the perilous feats which the demons were the cause of, were the following, which are recorded by the exorcist. On several occasions on quitting the church, when the exorcisms terminated, diabolical efforts were made to place the lives of the possessed sisters in the most extreme danger. They were frequently found clinging to the sides or the orifice of the well, in such positions that it was wonderful how they could support the weight of their bodies—"Autant de fois elles se sont trouvèes dans la capacitè et la vaste du puits, tantot tout le corps descendu et ne se tenant plus que du bout des epaules appuyees contre un des bords, et du bout du pied contre l'autre bord au dessus du puits; tantot en descendant avec toute la longeur du corps, et l'autre pied en l'air, dans le ronds du meme puits."*

* From Bosroger, pp. 212, 230, 231—see Calmeil, tome 2, p. 108.

The sister Marie du Saint Esprit was found lying horizontally across the mouth of the well, supported only on one side by the feet, and on the other side by the head. Other sisters were sometimes found hanging from the inner walls of the well, clinging with their fingers to the angles of the stones.

Bosroger, referring to these terrible occurrences and strange contortions, observes, the sufferers now rolled like a ball along the ground, now thrown into the most extraordinary postures: a number of delicate creatures undergoing these reiterated violent commotions and convulsions, accompanied with marvellous development of muscular strength; asks, how is it possible to attribute such phenomena to disease, or to any natural causes? "But that," he observes, "which is incontestably demonstrated, which is wholly unanswerable, and has been avowed by all the most famous physicians, is this, that it is quite impossible that convulsions so frightful should occur naturally by disease, should endure so long, return so frequently, leave no feelings of lassitude after they had ceased, and that they should not destroy the sufferers" . . . "And yet," he continues, "we see that those young women are healthy, although they have suffered those convulsions night and day during four years, and for three or four hours daily have been subjected to exorcisms during a term of two years, although they have been subsisting in those paroxysms constantly recurring of phrenzy, contortions, howlings, outcries, clamours, and contentions; and

besides all these torments, although they have experienced the peculiar motions of their own demon, their special tormentor, three or four times a day."*

The bending back of the head and body in the form of a bow till the face nearly touched the heels or the calves of the legs, was of frequent occurrence, and with nearly all the affected community. One sister, de Saint Laurent, sometimes remained in this posture during an hour, in two or three successive seizures. Another sister, du Sauveur, would be thrown into this posture all at once, with such violence that she appeared to the exorcist, " Comme un mouchoir qu'on porte sur le doigt, dont les deux extremités seraient pendantes" . . .

One thing is very worthy of notice in these details of Bosroger, frequent reference to a state of trance or ecstacy, as for instance in the case of Sister Louise de l'Ascension, who was tormented every day during a year with the most horrible convulsions, " suspension de sens et mille autre tourmens souvent deux on trois heures par jour." . . . Lebreton indicates those trances, however, as if they were of rare occurrence. It would seem as if he attached no importance to them.

Bosroger says the sister Saint Augustin was cast by the demon Gonsang into a " horrible suspension of all her senses for the space of six hours." Calmeil compares this trance to the one of the convulsion-

* Bosroger, p. 230.

naires of St. Medard, designated "l'etat de mort." He says, in this particular case there was "un suspension de l'exercise sensorial plutot qu'un veritable raptus extatique."

I am inclined to think Calmeil has no data for this distinction, and no grounds for it but his reluctance that any analogies should be found in the trances of the convulsionnaires and the somnambulism that is produced by artificial means.

Calmeil evidently finds himself at a loss to account for all the extraordinary phenomena which are detailed by Bosroger, with an air of truthfulness it must be admitted. There is no doubt, as he observes, that "Hysteria which in certain circumstances doubles, twists, turns backwards, and on one side, and stiffens the body in the way that affections purely tetanic act on it, must have a great deal to do in the production of the phenomena which have been just referred to." But the explanation that follows is not so satisfactory, "it may have happened sometimes that these young women yielded to the influence of a disordered will in assuming these forced positions, and that the sudden seizure of a cataleptic kind of rigidity, afterwards obliged them to continue for a longer or shorter time in these attitudes. In fine," he observes, "the hysterical paroxysms were of daily occurrence with the greater number of the sisters of Louviers. These sick persons influencing one another, whether by their menaces or their predic-

tions, contributed on certain occasions to recall their convulsive attacks."*

All the phenomena of this case are certainly not explained by Calmeil. "All the monomaniacs to whom it happens to fall of themselves into such a state of abstraction, as no longer to be conscious of what was passing in their own minds, and who think, in hearing themselves speak, they are not the less passive than if they were actually without heads, present nevertheless this peculiarity, that their ideas at those times constantly recur to the object of their main delirium. It is the same with hallucinations which make the patients believe that they see frightful objects, and that they are being addressed in abusive language. The forms they see, the words they hear, bear relation to the principal type of their disease. We see by that what may be thought of mesmerized women who repeat the oracles of an *interior voice*, and who discourse upon the magnetic agent; they then obey the inspiration of a momentary delirium."

A melancholy affection, tenacious by its very nature, and aggravated by numberless complications, such as those observable in the case of the nuns of Saint Elizabeth, could only yield to medical treatment with great difficulty, in the unfavourable circumstances in which the patients were placed. Some unsuccessful essays which were tried by physicians,

* Calmeil, De la Folie, t. 2. p. 113.

who were for the most part little known, to modify the functional disorders specially brought to their notice, appeared "to furnish an argument for those who were inclined to believe in supernatural agencies in similar cases, in favour of their opinion that they had to deal with a malady purely diabolical. . . ."*

"In the course of the year 1642, the Bishop of Evreux visited at times the convent of Louviers, endeavouring to bring back assurance and calm to the minds, and to the souls of the religious. This prelate, without expressing himself openly, was inwardly convinced that the devil had thrown the community into this desperate state, that the convulsions, the excesses of rage, the aversion of the nuns for prayer and the sacraments, the loss of sleep, the diabolical visions, would not cease to take place till after they had come to destroy the power of the devil. The whole convent participated in this last view of the case, and many of the religious not yet attacked with delirium, were in apprehension of being attacked by the cruel torments of obsession, or possessed interiorly by some evil spirit, and to drag out a miserable existence, suffering the torments of the damned."†

Towards the end of February, 1643, it came to pass, on quitting the church, after a sermon on the supreme power of God, and the circumscribed attributes of demons, one of the energumenes of the

* De La Folie, t. 2. pp. 116, et seq.

† Ib. tome 2. p. 117.

community, labouring under strong delusions as to possession, the sister Madeleine Bavan cried out: "We shall soon see if the power of Satan is so insignificant."

To use a nautical phrase, from that observation, a departure was taken, and a plea was set up to cause suspicion of sorcery to fall on a poor creature who was certainly a monomaniac.*

The 1st of March, 1643, the Bishop of Evreux summoned before him, three or four of the sisters, supposed to be possessed, and those of the community most tormented by convulsions, and commanded them to tell him if they had reason to know or believe that the torments they suffered were occasioned by the wicked arts of any sorcerer, who had caused the demons to take possession of them.

One fancies at this bare intimation of what was passing in the mind of the Bishop, that he hears the faggots crackling, and sees the flames creeping up the pile slowly at first, and then impetuously blazing forth and encircling with terrible vivacity the body of some unfortunate creature fixed to the stake, and about to be reduced to ashes.

The result of the conference of the Bishop with the sisters was soon known to the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, of Louviers. The deceased Father Picard, the former director of the community, the alarmed sisters declared was a sorcerer, and the sister Madeleine Bavan, who had spoken when

* Calmeil, tome 2. p. 118.

leaving church after the sermon, about the power of the devil in favourable terms, was an adept in all the mysteries of magic, an ally of Father Picard, and to both was to be attributed the introduction of the devils into the convent of Saint Elizabeth. The sister Madeleine had been one of the first of the community who had been seized with the prevailing hysterico-convulsive malady, and who had announced her belief that she was the victim of diabolical possession. It was, therefore, not without extreme surprise that she heard this accusation brought against her. Her companions, however, continued to bring accusations against her of the most abominable nature; and eventually, as if constrained by some extraordinary influence of madness, or delusion, of several monomaniacs, acting on the impaired mind of another individual partially insane, Madeleine Bavan avowed herself, as if through *complaisance*, guilty not only of all that was laid to her charge, but of a number of incredible crimes which were forged and fabricated by her, as if to shew how poor was the creative power of the imagination of her accusers, compared with the fertility of her own inventive faculties.

Madeleine Bavan no doubt expected to be brought to the stake, but she had resolved to go there in good company. She was tried on the charge of sorcery and apostacy, and her ecclesiastical judges were convinced of her culpability. She was accused of attending frequently sabbath orgies of devils and witches, of having thus obtained a knowledge of the

way of compounding and administering philtres and diabolical potions, and unguents; of composing and employing charms and incantations; of having given herself to the devil by written compacts signed in her own blood; of having profaned the most holy things, and delivered herself into the power of demons and sorcerers, sacrificing her innocence shamefully to these diabolical passions; of having contaminated others of the community, and endeavoured to bring disgrace and ruin on the convent.

On the 15th of March, Madeleine was found guilty of the crimes above mentioned, was declared unworthy of the name and habit of sister of the convent of St. Elizabeth. She was condemned to be deprived of the veil, to be dressed in the garments of a lay woman, to be confined for life in an underground place of security, or in one of the dungeons of the prison of the civil power of Louviers, and to fast on bread and water on every Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, for the remainder of her days.

"The condemned sister entreated not to be shut up alone in a dungeon; the demon she had enraged by her confession would strangle her," she said, "if she was left alone. Bursting into tears, she entreated that she would be allowed to frequent the sacraments to secure at least the salvation of her soul. . . . At another time she expressed a desire to be burned alive, and earnestly supplicated those around her not to leave her to herself, declaring that she was never alone without falling into an abyss of crime,

and without causing the most frightful calamities to fall on others."*

In the prison where she was confined this unfortunate creature, who was suffering from a cancerous sore in the breast, made several attempts at suicide without putting an end to her miserable existence. Twelve doses of pounded glass, which she swallowed in three days, only produced a little spitting of blood; some incisions which she made herself in the vein of the right arm, and in the throat, endeavouring to pierce the windpipe, only occasioned hemorrhage, followed by fainting. In short, a large wound which she made in plunging the blade of a knife in the bowels, and the marks of which might be seen, could not put an end to her existence.

Being weary of life, she said, she asked in despair something of the devils that would kill her. "The demons," says Bosroger, "brought her two hands full of pounded glass, all of which she took at several times during three days, swallowing it four times a day, which occasioned great spitting of blood, notwithstanding which she continued to take all the glass. From which, death not having followed as she professed to desire, and her despair and wish to die continuing, she asked the devils for a knife. She struck herself with the left hand on the right arm with the said knife, and cut several veins, from which flowed such a quantity of blood that she

* De la Folie, tome 2. p. 120.

remained for a long time in a swoon, but finding the wound in the arm had not occasioned death, she put the knife to her throat to cut the windpipe, which not being able to accomplish, she took the knife in the right hand and plunged it as high as the blade would go into the bowels, and kept t in for four hours, till she was at length obliged from weakness to take it out. . . which she has since owned to M. de Langle, penitentiary of Evreux, who entering (her place of confinement) two days afterwards, she shewed him her wounds, endeavouring to persuade him that it was in that manner the devil had treated her."*

When once it was proved, says Calmeil, that the testimony of the sisters labouring under hallucinations weighed equally with truth in the balance of the judges of Louviers, many innocent persons must have trembled for their honour and their safety. The very day the sister Bavan was condemned, the dead body of the curé Picard, who had been buried in the chapel of the convent, at the foot of the grating where the sisters went to receive communion, was exhumed by order of the Bishop of Evreux, and thrown into a kind of sewer, intended to receive the refuse of the place, which was called in the country the *Puits-Chronier*.

Bosroger relates the various rumours which resulted from this proceeding. People began to speak

* Bosroger, pp. 378, 415.

thus of the deceased director, Father Picard:—"He was a magician, said they; he ought to be absolutely exterminated; the glory of God, the safety of the sisters, ought to prevail over magic, and over all that belongs to it. What then must be done; the body of so wicked an instrument of Satan must be exhumed . . . It is necessary to do two things at once; exhume the priest, and save his character by concealing the exhumation . . . so that the body of Mathurin Picard, first excommunicated in the grave by the bishop, was then disinterred at night, and taken to a profane place, and hid in a cave of a depth nearly equal to the height of a steeple . . . with such secresy, that the said bishop commanded the people who had carried away the body never to reveal it to any one on pain of excommunication. What more could be done by the wisdom of mortals?"*

But the wisdom of mortals was of little avail in a matter of this kind in a small community of ignorant, astonished, gossipping and garrulous country people. A rumour got abroad that a dead body had been found in the Puits-Chronier, and that the remains were none other than those of the Curè Picard.

The chief magistrate of Louviers made official inquiries into the matter, and the ladies of the convent deposed, that the exhumation of the Father Picard's remains had been ordered by the Bishop of Evreux. A legal process was the result. The Queen (Anne

* Bosroger, chap. i.

of Austria) was informed of the strange subject, and she directed certain canonists and jurists, doctors of the two codes, associated with the Archbishop of Toulouse, to proceed to Louviers. Now, indeed, may we prepare our minds for the denouement of a great drama of a tragic kind; a scaffold for its stage, and the functionaries of the Court, and the Sorbonne, and the monomaniacs of the convent, and the victims of their hallucinations for the actors, about to appear *en scene*.

One of the most insane of all the poor monomaniacs of the St. Elizabeth, Madelaine, had been already convicted of sorcery, and compacts, and constant communication with Satan; and, strange to say, this supposed agent of the devil was selected to bear witness to the truth in a grave judicial inquiry, affecting the living and the dead, and in either instance involving a question of the soul's worst guilt or innocence of a minister of religion.

The judicial proceedings were conducted with all due external formulas and solemnities. The poor maniac woman, who had made many attempts on her life, was now brought forth from her living grave of a perpetual imprisonment, to which she had been consigned, to practise on the lives or reputations of others.

The witness, Madelaine Bavan, deposes to the guilt of sorcery against her former director, the deceased Father Picard, a clergyman named Thomas Boullé, who had been a deacon of the church

of Father Picard, and was then a curé of a church at Menil-Jourdain. This evidence was a re-production of a confession previously extorted, in part from the terrors, and supplied largely by the hallucinations of a person of a strongly excited and disordered mind. It had sufficed for her own condemnation. The Parliament of Normandy had accorded to it an entire confidence, and, to the lasting disgrace of that Parliament, set the seal of its authority to the iniquitous proceedings which were founded on that evidence.

Madelaine Bavan declared, that she and three other sisters had early yielded to the suggestions of a great magician, and that for a long time she had frequented the Sabbath assemblies of the demons.

She said, at the orgies of one of these assemblies, she had been married to a devil named Dagon, of a distinguished rank in hell.

She deposed, that the Father Picard had composed a great number of charms, and that she had done the same.

She said, that at the instigation of Father Picard, she had endeavoured to convert the Superioress, and the *mere-vicaire* of the convent, to the religion of Satan; and to accomplish that object she had deposited charms in certain places in the infirmary.

She said, she was aware she was united to a devil, but still continued in union with him.

She said, she had given herself up under her hand, as a property to be possessed by this devil Dagon.

She said, the demons had approached her often

metamorphosed into cats, and the Father Picard had approached criminally at the Sabbaths.

She said, she had committed sacrilege a hundred times; had profaned the sacrament, pronouncing a thousand blasphemies.

She said, that the infants of several witches had been cut into pieces to make charms, and that Father Picard and she had assisted to put the children to death.

She said, that on a Holy Thursday she had eaten a part of a roast child at the Sabbath: the Father Picard was then alive. Thomas Boullé, then under prosecution, assisted at that repast. A demon, who had taken the form of a third curate, named David, figured also among the guests at those orgies.

She said, she had seen two children brought to the Sabbath by sorcerers: they were nailed to crosses, and the side of one of them was opened with a great poignard, shaped like a cutlass. They drove nails into the head of this child, so as to make the form of a crown, and until both children were dead assailed them with blasphemous outrages.

She said, she had seen two men, who appeared to be persons of high rank, dragged to a Sabbath assembly, one of whom was crucified and died quickly; the other was attached to a post, and eviscerated by the demons and sorcerers, who first made him against his will renounce God and the sacraments of his Church.

She said, on one occasion, when terrible blas-

phemies had been pronounced at the Sabbath, our Lord made his appearance, launched a thunderbolt, and reduced several sorcerers to dust. Picard witnessed that spectacle.

She said, Thomas Boullé had been marked by the devil in her presence: he had committed a great crime at that Sabbath; and when Picard celebrated mass at the Sabbath, Thomas Boullé performed the functions of deacon. Other masses had been said in her presence at the Sabbath by priests vested in green *chassuples*. In general it was Picard who presided at the meetings of the magicians and the demons.

She said, she had great reproaches to make against Picard. On a solemn occasion he touched her, and said to her, "You will see what shall happen." She immediately felt a great agitation of spirits, and was obliged to go to the garden to breathe the fresh air. When she reached the garden, a horrible cat, which she presumed represented a devil, made its appearance, and, jumping on her, placed its fore-feet on her shoulders, and the claws of its hind-feet on her knees, with the design, as she supposed, of profaning the sacrament she had just received.

She said, "After the death of Picard, she had been taken to the barn belonging to the house, where he had lived up to the time of his death, at Menil-Jourdain. There she saw the miserable corpse of Picard, a kind of human form, frightful

to behold, held up by the arms. The corpse spoke to her as if it had been living, and recalled to her the promise she had formerly made, never to give herself to any one but the devil . . . A large black beast, which appeared as if from a cloud, and which went three times round the corpse, terrified her greatly in counselling her to continue to do with respect to Boullé what she had heretofore been in the habit of acting with Mathurin Picard. Thomas Boullé being in the barn with her, obtained her consent that he should have over her the same power as Picard formerly exercised.

"There ought to be found on the body of Boullé the mark of a red-hot iron, which was inflicted upon him on the Sabbath. As for her, she bore on her head and on her loins the marks of Satan."

The *lieutenant-criminel* said to the deponent Madeleine, Is it not only by imagination that you went to the Sabbath assembly?

"Madeleine Bavan protested and assured them that she was really and corporally present: she was not only present when children and other persons were killed at the assemblies, but had touched the bodies with which she had made charms. But since she had been confined to her cell under lock and key, she had not been able to go to the Sabbath; she assigned other reasons for having corporally assisted at those assemblies."*

All that Madeleine Bavan had maintained as

* Bosroger, liv. iii.

true in her written depositions, whether on being interrogated as to the charges against herself, or those against Father Picard, or the other ecclesiastic Boullé, she maintained with some slight variations, before the Court at Rouen, when the Parliament came to hear her verbal answers. Thomas Boullé, in his turn, when called on to avow the crimes which were imputed to him, either when confronted with Madeleine Bavan, or subjected to the torture, repelled constantly with energy and indignation, all the accusations which were overwhelming him.*

"The 21st of August, 1647, the Parliament of Rouen made its iniquitous judicial *arret*, confirming the decision of the lower Court and civil tribunal in this case.

"The Court has decided, that by the Judge of the Church, *le juge d'eglise*, that the exhumation of the body of Picard, had been badly, informally, and improperly carried into effect; and having seen what has resulted from the evidence of the *procès* has declared, and still declares the said Mathurin Picard, and Thomas Boullé duly attainted, and convicted of the crime of magic, sorcery, sacrilege, and other impieties and abominable acts committed against the Divine Majesty, mentioned in the procès, and the memory of the said Picard is condemned as impious and detestable.

"In punishment and reparation of such crimes, they ordain that the body of the said Picard, and

* Calmeil, de la Folie, tome ii. p. 132.

of the said Boullé, shall be this day delivered to the executioner of criminal cases, to be dragged along on hurdles through the streets and public places of the city, and the said Boullé being brought before the principal entrance of the cathedral . . . shall there make honourable reparation—*amende honorable,* the head and feet uncovered, and in his shirt, having a cord round his neck . . . This being done, then to be dragged to the place of the old market, and there the said Boullé to be burnt alive; and the body of the said Picard to be placed on the fire, until the said bodies shall be reduced to ashes, which shall then be given to the winds . . . And the said Court has ordained, and ordains that the sister Simone . . . formerly Superioress of the convent of Louviers, shall be taken, and her person seized, brought and constituted prisoner in the prison of the palace, to be examined upon the charges that have been brought against her by the informations . . . that the sisters Catherine Legrand, called "of the Cross;" Anne Barré, called "of the Nativity," and the sister of Sainte Geneviève, nuns at the said convent . . . shall be summoned to appear before the Court to be heard upon any point resulting out of these proceedings, the judgment of the said Bavan being put off. And so it has been decided at the Court, that by the Commissary Judge who reports the case, in the presence of the Bishop of Evreux, or of his Vicars General, that they shall proceed to the removal of the nuns of that convent to any other, to

the houses of their relations, or any other house, religious or secular, which shall be recommended, until such times as they have been otherwise provided for."*

The 21st August, 1647, in the afternoon, Thomas Boullé was burned to death by fanatics of his own country, on the same spot where Jeanne d'Arc had perished in a former age, in the flames, on a similar charge of sorcery at the hands of English fanatics.

"Boullé perished," says Calmeil, "as Grandier did, under the dead weight of monstrous accusations, heaped upon him by a community of convulsionaires, deprived of sense and reason. The execution of Boullé had this particular atrocity in it, that this unfortunate priest died bound to a corpse. The people of Rouen on seeing blown into the air the ashes of two ecclesiastics characterized as murderers, cannibals, convicted by a celebrated Parliament of having exercised great influence over the powers of hell, of having had the power to make eighteen nuns feel the most diabolical torments, began to breathe more freely, in the same way that it happens to any individual who is just withdrawn from the fear of some danger that human prudence does not seem able to avert. No doubt but that the same people would have been eager to save the life of Boullé if they had only suspected that a venerated tribunal, like that of the *Tournelle*, held in equal honour with the Areopagus of old, was subject to

* Bosroger, pp. 413, et seq.

error, and capable of committing a great crime that hereafter their posterity would wish to be able to disavow or cover with oblivion.

"I have run through or read every book that I could possibly get hold of, or pamphlets treating of the pretended possession of the nuns of Louviers; I hoped to have discovered amongst those pieces some secret documents calculated to justify or explain the conduct of the Parliament of Rouen with regard to Picard and Boullé. I declare that my researches have only confirmed me in the belief that those two priests no way merited to be treated as they were. Most assuredly the Parliament of Normandy, if it could have been persuaded and understood that the madness and convulsions of the sisters of Ste. Elizabeth proceeded from a derangement of the cerebral organs, would never have consented to have pronounced the unjust sentence which I have just transcribed. Witnesses who were brought from Louviers to Rome declare, I am aware, that Picard knew how to use the magic ligature (with incantations); that he had often been heard to go out by night in his garden; that they had sometimes surprised him at dawn of day in the company of phantoms, who appeared to resemble the devil; witnesses swore that Boullé experienced sometimes at chapel attacks of the nerves; that he had carried away a man in the air; that he could cure the toothache; that he took pleasure in reading books, the covers of which were besmoaked. But these charges, which

were not at a certain period devoid of gravity, were sufficient to counterbalance, in the opinion of the judges, the good testimonies which were brought forward on all sides in favour of Picard and Boullé; and one may look upon it as certain, that if the monomaniacs who were exorcised in the convent of Sainte-Elizabeth, had not called out for justice to aid them, nobody would ever have dreamt of attacking the memory of Picard, who had lived in the odour of sanctity, neither would they have denounced such a priest as Boullé as being given up to magic who fulfilled worthily the sacerdotal functions. Most certainly the religious of Louviers, Picard and Boullé were not corrupted with immorality, as it has been asserted, and as some may yet again repeat; ignorance had alone been the cause of the prevailing idea of that period—namely, that the charges of Madeleine and the old sacristan of the chapel, ought not to be considered as purely imaginary."*

* Calmeil, De la Folie, t. ii. pp. 130, 131.

Monomania of the Nuns in a Convent at Auxonne.

1652 TO 1662.

A nervous, hysteric, convulsive malady, conjoined with paroxysms of delirium, had occasioned great disquietude, bodily and mental, to the inmates of a convent at Auxonne, and not only prevailed there after the manner of an epidemic for about ten years, but likewise in the vicinity of the convent, among secular women.

At the beginning of 1662, the Government appointed a Royal Commission, and charged the Archbishop of Toulouse, the Bishops of Rheims, of Rhodes, and of Chalons, and also five physicians to examine into the nature of this disorder, which appears to have broken out in the convent so early as 1652.

In 1662 the number of the sick labouring under this disorder was eighteen. Amongst them were sisters old and young; novices, postulants and professed nuns, some of high birth and exalted station; others of the humbler ranks, and several suffering from bodily infirmities. The Royal Commissaries made an unanimous report, declaring to the effect, that having carefully considered the case of the nuns at Auxonne, they had come to the conclusion, that the extraordinary acts they had witnessed on the part of the sisters of Auxonne, exceeded the power of human nature, and that they could not be performed except by the agency of the devil in taking

possession of these sisters, or by the obsession of them.

In the report of the symptoms and sufferings of the nuns, Calmeil believes many phenomena described were badly observed, and ill retailed by the secretaries of the Royal Commissaries. It is certain that the nuns and other women who laboured under this epidemic disorder, yielded at times to transports of mania, and to the antipathies of that delirium which manifests itself in impious and sacrilegious acts and words: and, further, that the operations of the cerebral functions at times were exhibited with such violence, that they exploded frequently in convulsive phenomena of an extraordinary nature.

In a cotemporary account of this epidemic it is stated, that nearly all the sisters affected with this malady manifested in the height of their disorder a great aversion to devotional exercises and religious rites, and during the performance of the latter, their unnatural repugnance was expressed and indicated by outcries, impious language, bellowings, acts of violent resistance, contortions and convulsions, which could only be overcome or restrained by means of conjurations and commands given to the demons to refrain from their diabolical operations. During the exorcisms these frightful scenes were of frequent occurrence.*

The sisters of the convent of Auxonne, as well as

* Le Pour et Contre de la possession des filles de la Paroisse Laneles, diocèse de Bayeux, pp. 60, 61.

the greater number of secular women affected, who were declared to be possessed after the exorcisms and repeated conjurations, experienced sickness of the stomach, and brought up various substances, hair, small pebbles, pieces of wax, bones, and even living reptiles; and these objects were looked on as evidences that corroborated the previously formed opinion of diabolical possession.

Calmeil says, "They fell into ecstasy or into somnambulism, at one time at the words addressed to them by the exorcists; at another time, at the precise hour indicated by their afflicted companions. The Bishop of Chalons having commanded the demon who possessed Denise, to suspend the sensibility of that young woman (secular), and to render her insensible to suffering, it was found possible to stick a pin under the root of the nail, *sous la racine de l'angle*, without causing any sign of suffering."*

In the account of a cotemporary, already cited, we are told: "The sister of *the Purification* having been hindered from leaving the convent one night, when she was to have been conveyed to a demon Sabbath assembly, as her companions were informed during an exorcism some days previously, at the very hour appointed for the assembly, she fell all of a sudden into a kind of swoon and wonderful insensibility, which lasted for above five hours. During that period she was deprived of all her senses; she

* Calmeil, De la Folie, t. ii. p. 134.

was motionless, without speech or consciousness, with her arms folded on her breast, and so rigid that it was impossible to move or extend them. Her eyes were shut, and afterwards were open, but fixed in their sockets, immoveable, and sightless . . . On coming to herself out of this ecstasy, she said, she had been transported in the spirit to the Sabbath assembly, and related all that she had seen there."*

The observations of Calmeil on this remarkable account of trance artificially produced, is worthy of attention, bearing as it does on his belief of the utter futility of animal magnetism.

"The somnambulists whom the magnetizers bring every day under our observation, fall into a state of trance at the very moment they themselves had indicated, or that had been foretold by other somnambulists. In that state they imagine that their senses can exercise their perceptive powers at a considerable distance on smells, odours, and bodies that are palpable but far away from them; that their sight in fine can extend to objects which are separated from them by great intervals. These somnambulists yielded momentarily to the illusions of sensorial delirium, as did the sister of the Purification, when she contemplated in imagination the splendours of the Sabbath assembly . . . Far more than the state of true sleep, the state of ecstasy is distinguished by the hallucinations of the principal senses."†

* Le Pour et Contre de la Possession, pp. 62, 63.

† Calmeil, De la Folie, t. ii. p. 134.

The nuns of Auxonne, like those of Loudun and Louviers, were subject to convulsions and spasms, which produced astounding contortions of the body, and attitudes which seemed to be impossible, except to persons who from their youth upwards had been trained to the exercises of acrobats. The writer of the cotemporary account informs us, that when called upon to perform one of the most solemn acts of religion, the sister *Saint Francois* prostrated herself on the floor, and then the whole weight of the body being supported on the stomach, her hands and all the rest of her frame were lifted upwards *portès en l'air*. Another sister, *de la Resurrection*, did the same thing. She sometimes appeared prostrated, and suddenly the body would become like a ball, assuming a circular form, so that the soles of her feet came in contact with her forehead. The sisters Constance and Denise were sometimes seen cast on the ground, which they touched only with the crown of the head and the soles of the feet, all the rest of the body being in the air, and they walked in this manner. "All, or nearly all, remaining (for any length of time) on their knees, and with their arms folded on their breasts, would have their bodies bent backwards, so that the top of the head touched the soles of the feet; the mouth (as it were) kissed the ground, and the tongue formed a sign of the cross on the pavement." *La bouche venait baiser la terre, et la langue former un signe de croix sur le pavè.**

* Le Pour et Contre, &c. p. 67.

Calmeil inquires, "Were they during these violent spasmodic movements in a state of somnambulism? Probably they were. That happened occasionally in the malady of the Ursulines of Loudun. At Bayeux, it was during the ecstatic paroxysms that the persons supposed to be possessed performed the most extraordinary acts, a certain proof that the impression of demonopathy is not effaced even when the sufferers are out of the waking condition. The Bishop of Chalons observed that during an exorcism the sister Catharine appeared with her head bent backwards, her eyes open, the pupil quite invisible *beneath the upper eyelid, the white of the eye alone perceptible, the faculty of vision suspended; it is to be presumed then that this sister was plunged into a sort of ecstatic rapture.*"*

Calmeil makes this admission with reluctance. But it was impossible for him, if he believed the evidence given in the similar cases of loss of consciousness and sensibility in the paroxysms of the same disorder in Loudun and Louviers, to get over the difficulty of considering such phenomena as identical with any other condition except that of somnambulism. But there is one thing Calmeil has not remarked, and yet which is very deserving of consideration, that the performance of exorcisms in the cases above referred to (where the power of exorcising, I believe, was lamentably abused), had the same effect as the performance of the external operations of the practisers of animal magnetism.

* Calmeil, De la Folie, t. ii. p. 136.

On the features of a sick woman in a state of morbid disquietude or melancholy, terrified about her condition, moral as well as physical, and fancying that the demons which haunted her cell in her dreams, were now in her waking hours in possession of her body, and struggling for her soul, there can be very little doubt but that the conjurations addressed to the demon, and the confirmation thus given by the exorcist to the worst fears of the supposed *energumene*, must have had as powerful an influence on a morbid imagination, and a system whose nerves were in a state of *surexcitation*, and as strong a tendency to produce somnambulism, trance, or prolonged cataleptic swoon, as any commands of a mesmerist.

The effects which the mesmerists attribute to the transmission of a subtle magnetic fluid, the currents of which they profess to direct, I attribute to an agency no less marvellous, an influence exercised on the imagination by some subtle power, the nature of which we do not comprehend, and are only able to appreciate by its results on the nervous system and the functions of the brain.

I believe artificial somnambulism may be produced by the abused employment of exorcisms in the case of people supposed to be possessed; that the impressive forms and solemnities of that rite unseasonably exhibited, the earnest looks of the exorcist, will in such cases have effects on people in a morbid condition analogous to those which are pro-

duced when certain words are addressed by the mesmerist to one about to be magnetized. He is told to close his eyes, to sit in a particular posture, or to fall asleep; and the operator stands by, intensely gazing into the eyes of the person operated on, or makes passes, and other practices in vogue with the professors of animal magnetism.

By the report made by the Bishop of Chalons in this case, grounds it would seem were thought to exist for attributing deeper natural endowments to the sick. The Bishop reports, "That all the said young women, eighteen in number, as well secular, as religious sisters, and without a single exception—*et sans excepter un*—appeared to him to have the gift of the understanding of languages, *inasmuch as they always answered faithfully to the Latin*, which was pronounced to them by the exorcists, which was not taken from the Ritual, and still less concerted with them: often they have explained themselves in Latin; sometimes by whole sentences, sometimes by complete discourses."

I have rendered the preceding passage word for word from the original: one important passage I have put in italics which is not so in the original. It is said therein, they always answered faithfully to the Latin which was pronounced to them by the exorcist. It is not stated they answered in the Latin, which language was spoken to them. And the distinction is important. Any intelligent sacristan, if much given to the reading of devotional

books, might do the same, as the inmates of the cloisters are reported to have done, presuming that they answered in their own tongue what was addressed to them in Latin.

But then the Bishop states, that the gift of understanding languages was not confined to the nuns, every one of the eighteen persons referred to, secular or regular, *appeared* to him to have it. The Bishop, however, does not positively affirm they had it, they only *appeared* to have it. We are told without any distinction between the seculars and regulars, "they often explained themselves in Latin," sometimes by entire sentences, sometimes by complete discourses.

If this was only done by the nuns as far as the making themselves understood in a single sentence in Latin, the thing would be still explicable on natural grounds. The familiarity they must have had with formulas of prayer in the Latin tongue, and the exaltation of mind, wonderfully increased acuteness of perception, and vicacity of the powers of imagination, which are so frequently found concomitants of this hystero-convulsive disorder, when it prevails as it were epidemically, might account for this phenomenon.

But when we are told that sometimes complete discourses were pronounced by the supposed energumenes in Latin, without any particulars as to the persons who had this extraordinary gift, whether the nuns, or secular women, the witnesses who were present, the correctness or incorrectness of the

grammar of the strange tongue spoken; the nature of the style and subject of the discourse, its length, and the compatibility of the knowledge actually required for an oration on a particular subject, with the previous amount of information on it, or the degree of intelligence that might be capable of dealing with it, before the person was considered possessed, we are told too little, and called on to believe too much.

And we are the more justified in requiring strong and ample evidence in a matter of this kind, when we reflect that the miraculous gift of tongues was one of the great signs of the divine mission given by our blessed Saviour to his apostles: while in the case of the gift of the knowledge of tongues attributed by the Bishop of Chalons to a certain number of sick women of Auxonne, the power is attributed to devils.

The Bishop of Chalons in his report states likewise, that "all, or nearly all (the eighteen sick women of Auxonne), had evinced a knowledge of the interior, and of the secrets of thought when they addressed themselves to such inquiries; which was especially apparent when the exorcists on various occasions gave them some interior commands, which they generally obeyed with exactitude, without such commands being expressed either by word or by any exterior sign; the Bishop made several experiments of this gift upon the person of Denise Parisot, to whom he gave a command in his own mind—*dans le fond de sa pensée*—to come to him to be exor-

cised, she came immediately, although she was living in a very distant part of the town, telling the Bishop that she had been commanded by him to come; which she did several times. And, again, in the case of the sister Janin, a novice, who in coming out at the conclusion of the exorcism, she told him the command he had given interiorly to the devil (who possessed her) during the exorcism; and also in the case of sister Borthon, to whom having mentally given a command, *dans le fond de sa pensèe*, during one of her most violent agitations to come to him and prostrate herself before the blessed sacrament, when throwing herself flat upon the ground with her arms extended, she executed the order at the moment it was conceived, with the most extraordinary promptitude and precipitation.*

"Upon all occasions the monomaniacs of Auxonne," says Calmeil, "played upon the good faith and inexperience of the exorcists. There is no doubt that in hysterical cases, the power of perception—*la finesse de sens et d'intelligence*—manifested whilst the apparent suspension of most of the faculties, sensitive and intellectual, inspire an almost implicit confidence, render the appreciation of the results furnished by similar experiments very delicate, and error very easy, to fall into.

"And it is in order to avoid the reproach of mutilating an historical statement, that I make mention of the knowledge of languages that were never learned, and the faculty of reading the thoughts

* Pour et Contre, &c., pp. 57, 58.

of others, as a double privilege with which they believed the young women of Auxonne were gifted. But upon the whole, the experiments and assertions of theologians, by no means establish decisively, the existence of the like faculties in those persons to whom they are accustomed to attribute them. Is it not known that the *sudden recall* of knowledge for a long time buried, if one may say so, in the depths of the brain; that the perception of touch morbidly exquisite, such as is often noticed in the exstatic trance, have hundreds of times puzzled the Minerva of theologians? It is precisely because it is this kind of sudden illumination *of the brain* which is the cause why demoniacs and many somnambulists have so often appeared to be gifted with a true science of divination, and have exposed those who observe them to constant mistakes, that I thought I ought not to pass over in silence, even this portion of the recital which treats of the possession of the nuns and of the other women of Auxonne.

"There are other assertions worthy of exercising the sagacity of physiologists! Such, it is said, was the dominion of the will upon the monomaniacs of Auxonne over the tissues of the arterial vessels of the arm, that many of those nuns could suspend at their will the pulsation of those vessels." "Denise Parisot," it is stated in the Bishop's report, "being commanded by the prelate to stop completely the pulse of the right arm, whilst the left continued to beat, and then to transfer the beating of the pulse of the left to the right arm, whilst it stopped in the

left; she punctually executed the order in the presence of the physician (Morel), who acknowledged and deposed to the same, and also in the presence of several ecclesiastics. . . The sister of the Purification performed the same thing two or three times. . causing it to beat or stop according to the desire of the exorcist."*

"Cheyne," adds Calmeil, "was himself a witness that Colonel Townshend, to whom we are indebted for some important works on Spain, had the power towards the end of his life, to suspend the pulsation of the heart, and all appearance of a circulatory movement. During the trial that was made by Cheyne and Dr. Baynard, a trial which lasted nearly half an hour, the Colonel's heart ceased altogether to beat, and they feared that he was really dead.† The doctors were on the point of going away when they perceived the arterial pulsations return, and the motion of the principal centre of circulation.‡ The influence of the will upon the suspension of the movement of the heart," observes Calmeil, "ought not to surprise us very much; we are accustomed to see the beatings of the heart become quick or violent under the influence of some idea, of a passion, a

* Pour et Contre, p. 62.

† The accounts we have of the burial alive practice of the Fakeers of the Seiks, of which the particulars will be found elsewhere, shew that a power is claimed for the fakeers over the circulation far beyond any thing of which we read of Colonel Townshend's trances.

‡ Cheyne. The English Malady, 1753, p. 77.

sentiment, of an impression emanating from that part of the brain whence volition emanates: but the action of the brain on any determined arterial vessel appears to me difficult to conceive, even when one has recourse to the intervention of the concurrence of the nerves and the spinal axis, and the several great nervous plexus. The nuns of Auxonne perhaps combined their forced postures and the contraction of their muscles with sufficient precision to exercise a compressive action on the arterial vessels leading to the hand.

"Here end the observations which have suggested themselves to me, by reading the facts detailed in the relation of the nervous malady which formerly prevailed epidemically in the town of Auxonne."*

Calmeil's attempt to explain the phenomenon of the stoppage of the pulse in either arm at the command of the exorcist, and the transmission of pulsation from the arm where it was perceptible, to the other arm, where it had ceased to be distinguishable, is not satisfactory. Of the truth of the statement he expresses no doubt; and evidently seems to entertain no doubt of it. My own experience would lead me to believe the statement is a true one. I have twice witnessed phenomena somewhat analogous, when two individuals were subjected to the operations of practisers of animal magnetism.

In the first case, the operators were two professional

* De la Folie. Calmeil, liv. iv. p. 137, 138, 139, 140.

mesmerists, who made a trade of their science, and an exhibition of it on a public stage in Dublin, that was by no means free from charlatanism. One of the performers had the power of producing artificial somnambulism, in many instances, with comparative facility, and there was no deception on his part, or collusion on the part of those on whom he experimented, in several instances, I am fully convinced. But when the customary phrenological pantomime performances were superadded to the ordinary feats of professional mesmerism, and new subjects were brought forward for experimentalism, there certainly was no dearth of mummery, of imposition and collusion ; somnambulism was simulated ; bumps were touched, and passions were expressed at command. The organ of veneration was no sooner excited than down dropped the party operated on, on his knees, and joined his hands as if in fervent prayer. So when the organ of music was touched, there was invariably a good voice, and a verse or two of a song at the bidding of the operator. All this part of the entertainment was too obviously got up to delude, to be witnessed without feelings of disgust. But the operator of whose power and facility in producing somnambulism I have made mention, undertook to influence different parts of the body of persons not in a state of somnambulism. And this he certainly performed in instances where there could be no collusion, I am quite sure, on the part of the persons operated on. A rigid cataleptic like state of a leg or an

arm was repeatedly produced, and maintained till such time as the operator announced his intention to remove "the magnetic influence," and by that announcement accomplished what he attributed to certain downward passes after the manner of the mesmerists. He undertook to mesmerize the left arm of a young gentleman selected from the audience for the experiment, and to reduce the pulsation at the wrists of that arm to about half the number of beats of the pulse of the right arm. I was requested to test this experiment by a very eminent journalist, the late F. W. Conway. I did so with all the care and scrutiny I could give it. The operator vigorously made passes along the arm, and the operation had not been carried on above two or three minutes when the frequency and volume of the pulse gradually diminished, and at length the number of beats were reduced to less than one half the number of pulsations of the right arm. I allowed the operator to go on with his passes, and to my great astonishment the pulse eventually became wholly imperceptible. In fact there was no pulsation whatever to be felt at the wrist of the left hand. But the operator was entirely unconscious of the extraordinary effect he had produced. He expected to reduce the number of beats to about 35 or 40 in a minute, and the impression left on my mind by the surprise he expressed at the result I communicated to him was, that he was not conscious of the power he had exercised, of entirely stopping the pulsation of important vessels of the human frame.

In the other case I have referred to, a gentleman of great ardour in the pursuits of mesmerism; subsequently too much so, unfortunately for his reason and his life, Mr. H— was the operator. He was in the habit of mesmerising a young woman, peculiarly qualified as he considered for his experiments, and of producing artificial somnambulism, and that condition of ecstatic rapture which mesmerists denominate clairvoyance. On one occasion, during the state of somnambulism, he undertook in the presence of many persons of rank and station to perform the very startling experiment of suspending in toto the circulation. On this occasion the task of testing the experiment also fell to my lot. Having never heard at that time of any such extensive power being claimed by any person as Colonel Townshend had been said to have over the circulation, I had no idea that Mr. H— pretended to have any such extraordinary influence as he supposed himself possessed of. He mesmerised both arms for some time, the girl being in a recumbent position, the pulse in both wrists became gradually smaller and smaller, and less perceptible, and at length almost ceased to beat at all. The pulsation at the heart however was perceptible enough, very frequent, but exceedingly tremulous and feeble, or rather fluttering. Mr. H— maintained and believed, I think, that it had ceased altogether. I denied the fact. Mr. H— then began to make some more passes over the body, but I objected to their continuance, and

the experiment ceased, the heart of the somnambulist beating however as before; Mr. H— still asserting his power to produce what he called "the death trance," and some of the audience very apprehensive, and not without good reason, that the influence exercised by him, might surpass his power to control.

We find in the case of the exorcised nuns of Auxonne, a distinguished prelate, and evidently a good, faithful, and trustworthy man, nearly two centuries ago (less only by six years), by means of exorcism, inducing trance, and catalepsy, the somnambulism of mesmerists; apparent thought reading, mental communication, instantaneous as thought itself, between parties, not only absent, but separated by considerable distances from each other in the same locality, the clairvoyance of the subjects of animal magnetism; and lastly, the stoppage of the pulse in the brachial arteries, almost identical with the results produced by mesmerists, in two instances, which fell under my own observation. But those phenomena reported by the Bishop of Chalons, and displayed at his command *during the exorcisms*, he believed were produced *by demons*. Now the same phenomena, we find ascribed by mesmerists to animal magnetism, and such of those phenomena as are truly reported and carefully observed by medical men of the present day of ordinary enlightenment are attributed to influences exercised on the imagination, in certain morbid conditions of the nervous system and cerebral functions. It is clearly shewn by Dr. Connolly, ("Inquiry," pp. 25)

and Mons. Georget ("Discussion Medico-Legale sur La Folie," page 144) that the manifestations of incipient insanity may be suppressed by the power of the will to a very great extent.

In monomania, connected with religious enthusiasm, it is very evident that the hallucinations which arise, are owing at the commencement, more to a want of moral control over the mind, than to any unsoundness of the organs engaged in the operations of intellect.

If this be so, what could be the effect in the cases I have referred to, of those continual exorcisms to which the poor creatures were subjected in the convents of Cambrai, of the Benedictines of Madrid, and of Loudun, than to take away all idea of any such power of self-control over the mind, by confirming their hallucinations, giving a sacred sanction even to their illusions, and strengthening their belief in diabolical possession. The results need hardly be told; in a great number of cases, confirmed insanity, from misdirection of the intellectual powers.

In the various accounts of mental disturbances and physical disorders which prevailed in the several convents I have given an account of in the preceding pages, there is abundant evidence that there was something radically wrong in those institutions as they were constituted in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. The evil, in my opinion, is traceable to the scandalous abuse of immuring children

in convents, without any regard to their fitness for a religious life, but solely on the part of parents with a view of providing for daughters they were unwilling or unable to portion off, and procure suitable marriage for.

It surely must have been an evil state of things in monastic institutions in the time of Cardinal Pole, which led him to affix his signature to a report made to the Pontiff, Paul III.; setting forth the disorders which prevailed in religious houses, and in religious discipline in general, in the Court of Rome, as well as elsewhere, recommending the extinction of the religious orders.

Art. 13.—"Another abuse to be corrected is in the religious orders, many of which have become so defiled, that their example has become a scandal to the laity and noxious to the latter. We think all conventual orders should be abolished, ('Conventuales ordines abolendos esse putamus omnes,') not, however, to inflict injury on any, but to prohibit the reception of any novices, ('Non tamen ut alicui fiat injuria, sed prohibendo ne novos possent admittere.') So that, without injury to the existing orders, they shall be suppressed, and good religious may be substituted for them. Now, we think it would be best if all youths, who are not professed, should be sent away from their monasteries."*

The commission with which such men as Cardinals Pole and Caraffa, and colleagues of little less

* Vide Madden's Life and Times of Savonarola, Appendix, for Original Report.

celebrity for their eminent qualities, were charged by the Pontiff, was given with a *bonâ fide* desire of forcing on the attention of his Court the necessity of a reform there, commenced and undertaken by themselves, when a Council was about to be called, one of the avowed objects of which was the reformation of manners and discipline in religious houses and amongst the subordinate clergy. This proceeding of Paul III. was one of the noblest acts that can be imagined; the choice of the persons he commissioned to carry it into execution was worthy of it, and their report was in all respects worthy of the great trust reposed in them.

A Spanish poem of the early part of the 16th century, gives a lively idea of the lamentable effects of the prevailing custom of that period, of immuring in cloisters young persons from motives which were unnatural and unjust.

THE NUN'S LAMENT.

"The Nun's Lament" is the translation of a singular little poem in Spanish, written about 1515, entitled, "Las Doze Coplas Moniales." A curious relic of lyric antiquity, which was glossed and sung; and attained to great celebrity in its day. It paints to the life the grief of a recluse, constrained to become a nun, and whose melancholy story swells the dismal catalogue of many such victims, who in past ages have died in Spanish convents. The poem is remarkable for its tone of reality, and the touching yet simple pathos of the language. Indeed, the bare simplicity

of the original, not always attained in this translation, is one of the charms of this singular piece; for the actual intensity of sorrow never waits upon the artificial graces of style. Its tone of quaint antiquity and depth of feeling is increased by the interweaving of the metrical Latin lines; nor do these militate against its consistency of keeping; they lead rather, upon a little reflection, to ratify its truth and fidelity to nature; for being used in the prayers and chants of the daily Latin services of the Church, such reiterated passages must, on the lips of nuns, become more *familiar to them* than household words. The last stanza is rendered almost word for word from the original. To the research of Mr. Benjamin Wiffen I am indebted for a knowledge of this poem.

Mayór que mi sentimiento
es el menór de mis danos:
grán linaje de tormento,
ver qu'n descontentamiento
se me van mis tristes años!
Solatio, misera, meo,
clausæ sunt undique portæ.

Larger than the language lent,
Is the least my grievance borrows
For to watch in discontent,
How my mournful years are spent,
Is a lineage of sorrows.
Solatio, misera, meo,
clausæ sunt undique portæ,
As my wishes never sought them,
Thus the clearer what has brought them,
To my sad despair I see.

This the secret of the whole,
What may ever purge the sin,
Where it touches to the soul,
Rising from the heart within.
Derelicta sum captiva,
in florenti ætate mea,
Wan, afflicted, and unshriven,
Must she live while life is given;
In this stony prison see her!

Buried thus henceforth do I,
Wretched maiden, meet the morn
Dying daily, till I die.
Free, and of free mother born,
Who has bound me here forlorn?
Sensi, nata paucos annos,
Fortunam irratam Deam:
Kinsmen they—my very brothers;
Their own will and not another's,
Diviserunt vestem meam!

Thus left here on convent ground,
Of my troubles unperceiving,
As my maiden years come round,
The fierce rankle of the wound
Clamours at my soul's deceiving.
Anima mea deserta,
tristis erit usque ad mortem:
Clouds of added troubles more
Gather round about the door,
et super eam miserunt sortem.

Hence it is, that to my sorrow,
I am sunk in such abyss,
Years of anguish cannot borrow
Lines to sound what depth it is

Mortis urget me cupido,
tædio compugnor ab isto.
If oblivion I could drink of,
I perhaps my life might bear,
But, ah! when I turn to think of
Christ and virtue, I despair.

Other troubles without number
Have my frame and vigour shaken,
For with them I go to slumber,
And with them at morn awaken.
curæ, mei cordis, heredes,
dies in noctem verterunt,
Night, a double night indeed is;
In so many doors and turnings,
Walls, that gloomy make the mornings,
dies mei declinaverunt.

What shall I say of contentions,
And anxieties unceasing,
Grave and bitter reprehensions,
Burthens still the more increasing,
Disciplines and castigations,
And the spirit's sore temptations;
quibus in vita resisto?
As I walk the way He trod,
In ten thousand toils I languish,
Watchings, scourgings, thorns, and anguish,
Make me like the Son of God.

Friends whom my young heart selected,
Faithful never were, nor true;
Who could give me faith expected,
Since I feel it was rejected
By the breasts whose milk I drew.
Cupiditate non fida,
me parentes tradiderunt,

Now, alas! in lifelong measure,
Tears are left—my life's sole pleasure
quem pro nummis vendiderunt.

Willing to increase my pain,
Like an unrelenting father,
Not sufficient is a chain,
Doomed in prison to remain,
But they seek for vengeance rather.
Supplicio, perfidi meo,
hunc dolorem addiderunt,
Here where other eyes must shun me,
More to wreak their will npon me,
Manus et pedes foderunt.

Seeing this my sad position
Can, alas! no deeper go,—
Veriest wretch's lost condition
Never, never sank so low,
Since my voice by weakness dying,
Fails to sound my plaints and sighing,
Similata semper agno
judicata mortis rea,
This strange torment day by day,
Fears, anxieties, and yearning,
Labours, injuries, and mourning,
Waste my very bones away;

So that I can truly charge,
This my state to its beginning,
Since I might have lived at large,
Without pain of mortal sinning.
Natam captarunt parentes
vinculis ligarunt eam;
Prudent nuns, the end discerning,
For my robes and trinkets burning,
diviserunt vestem meam.

O ye maids! who list and wander
Round about this gloomy gate,
I conjure you, that ye ponder,
Never ill that bows *you* under
Equals this, my lost estate.
Vos habetis libertatem
ego vim patior hic fortem,
Till conflicting woes and errors
Hasten death's untimely terrors,
et super me miserunt sortem.

The preceding verses may serve to illustrate a phase of conventual life on the continent and in the Peninsula, and perhaps in a minor degree in these countries in former ages when great abuses prevailed in those institutions. The evils I refer to were largely attributable to the forced seclusion of young women in conventual institutions on the part of sordid and unnatural friends and parents; and I am well aware they exist no longer.

I am not convinced, however, that even the existing system of conventual life in those countries of strict inclosure, and in some orders of rigorous discipline, is without evil in the tendencies of insufficient exercise, long protracted fastings, or of too frequent occurrence, inordinate seclusion and prolonged separation from nearest and dearest relatives, to impair the health, depress the spirits, and debilitate the constitutions of the young, the weakly, and the ailing, and to abridge the natural term of life very considerably.

By some of the orders of strict inclosure, above referred to, schools are *now* kept for the gratuitous

instruction of the children of the poor: and to that portion of communities so employed, the preceding observations may not apply, or are not altogether applicable. But to the communities of convents of the orders of Charity or Mercy, those observations are not applicable at all.

For them, and their active lives and arduous labours of Christian love, none of the evil consequences attributed to strict inclosure, rigorous discipline, and prolonged separation from friends and relatives—namely, impaired health, morbid feelings, physical derangements of various kinds, intellectual inanition, torpid energies of mind and body—are to be apprehended.

Other results may be expected from the stirring instincts of heroic charity, of a piety that manifests itself in compassion for poverty and suffering, from the performance of the highest duties to humanity with the purest intentions and the holiest feelings of devotion to God's service, in all humility and simplicity of heart and mind; from works of mercy and continual self-sacrifice wherever their services are called for, no matter how loathsome may be the horrors, imminent the dangers, and painful or repulsive the lineaments *of sin* or sorrow, they have to encounter at the bed-side of the sick, and the dying, and of the suffering of all categories, in the extremities of human misery in its direst circumstances of destitution, squalor, and all-surrounding sources of contamination. Other results, indeed, may be looked for, from the lives of those good sis-

ters who go about ministering to the poor and the suffering of this world, in the spirit of their Divine Master, and solicitous only for others, seeking no glory in those services but that of God, and no reward on earth for them, but such feelings as a sense of duty to religion, discharged in a beneficial manner to one's fellow-creatures, may impart.

For their high deeds, and heroic exploits in the cause of religion and humanity, the Sisters of Charity and Mercy seek no emblazonment on banners in banquet-halls, no royal smiles and eulogies. They desire no reverberation of their names, and of those of the scenes of their Christian triumphs, from the walls of palaces: they expect no echoes of them in the pulpit or the press: no rhetorical flourishes in Parliament, or at public meetings, in honour of their labours in the hospitals of the East or any other region. And yet their services to humanity are not for a season—for one campaign, for a pestilence, for some specific calamities, or for a single war. Their duties to the sick and the dying, to humanity in all its sufferings, is for the whole of their lives, for all the ills that flesh is heir to, whenever and wherever God's holy work of mercy is to be done, by those pure hands and faithful hearts of theirs.*

* "To care for the sick in hospitals has been, for centuries, the special calling of many religious orders, both of men and women, in the Catholic Church. An order of this kind was founded in Italy in the pontificate of Innocent III. who died in 1216. Paris alone has at present, and long has had, many such orders, members of which attend all the hospitals. The Sisters of Charity institute was founded by St. Vincent de Paul more than two hun-

It is well they look elsewhere for their reward: for it seems, here, it is a policy that their services to humanity should remain unnoticed, and, *if it were possible*, unknown.

Bigotry is not always base and unmanly, though it is generally ungenerous, as well as unjust: but the highest excellence of human nature can hardly fail to be dealt with most unworthily, by narrow-minded people; for the more such excellence is exalted, the more politic it becomes for their intolerance to bring it into discredit, or to have it ignored.

Forty of the sisters who devoted themselves to the service of the sick and wounded of the Allied armies in the East, in the late war, perished in the discharge of their duties, either in the hospitals of Varna and Scutari, or in the Crimea, or from the effects of the discharge of those duties within a few months, after their return to Europe; the victims of their incessant labours in that campaign.

An old divine who flourished in the time of the Commonwealth, and survived the Revolution, has thus spoken of the departure of kindred spirits:

> "*Their* souls, the saints, of this fair shrine
> Were pure without alloy, and all divine;
> Active and nimble as ethereal light;

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dred years ago. In the wars which desolated France during the saint's lifetime he despatched his *Filles de la Charite* in all directions to attend the sick and wounded."

Kind as the angels are above,
Who live on harmony and love;
The rays *they* shot were warm as well as bright,
So mild, so pleasing was their fire,
That none could envy, and all must admire.

. . . . . .

No wonder *beings so designed*,
Their way again to heaven so soon should find.
Angels, as 'tis but seldom they appear,
So neither do they make long stay—
They do but visit and away.
'Tis pain to them t' endure our too gross sphere;
We could not hope for a *reprieve*,
They must die soon, that make such haste to live." *

And elsewhere the reason is given for this evanescent sojourn of such beings amongst us, by this old worthy of the English Church, whose eyes were not satisfied with gazing on the heights of Parnassus, but ever and anon directed heavenward, explored the higher regions, and held communion there with happy spirits:

" How fading are the joyes we doat upon,
Like apparitions seen and gone;
But those which soonest take their flight
Are the most exquisite and strong,
Like angels' visits short and bright,
Mortality's too weak to bear them long." †

* Miscellanies: Poems, Essays, &c. by John Norriss, M.A., Rector of Newton, in Somersetshire, 2nd edit. 1692, p. 104.

† Norriss's Poems, "The Parting," p. 18. Many persons hold there is no property in umbrellas, and they accordingly appropriate them. Vast numbers hold the same opinion with regard to books, and they accordingly borrow them and return them no more. And not a few poets hold a similar opinion as to the com-

The following beautiful and touching lines of the highly gifted Gerald Griffen, (whose humble grave is to be found within the precincts of the convent of the Christian Brothers, of his native city), may serve to some extent to illustrate the character of the lives and labours of the Sisters of Charity and Mercy.

THE SISTER OF CHARITY.

I.

She once was a lady of honour and wealth,
Bright glowed on her features the roses of health;
Her vesture was blended of silk and of gold,
And her motion shook perfume from every fold:

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mon property of the more precious products of the brain, and act on it. Three Scotchmen of renown, Blair, Burns and Campbell so have thought and so have acted, at least in one instance.

The beautiful thought expressed by Norriss in the stanza above cited, was thus borrowed by Blair without acknowledgment, slightly altered and expressed in his poem on the "The Grave:"

. . . . . "Visits,
Like those of angels, short and far between."

Burns next adopted the idea of old Norriss, and still further diluted the words of Blair, with a little additional milk and water verbiage, thus exemplifying the progress of a literary larceny:

"Like the visits of good angels, short and far between."

Then came another glorious Scotchman, Thomas Campbell, and abolished "the good angels" and left a single "angel" only in his stanza; substituted "few" visits for "short" ones; and with the help of a little alteration and concentration, made his line take fast hold on memory:

"Like angel's visits, few and far between,"

and thus appropriated, like his predecessors, the property of an original idea of exquisite beauty, which has not been improved by any of them.

Joy revell'd around her—love shone at her side,
And gay was her smile, as the glance of a bride;
And light was her step, in the mirth-sounding hall,
When she heard of the daughters of Vincent de Paul.

II.

She felt in her spirit, the summons of grace,
That call'd her to live for the suffering race,
And heedless of pleasure, of comfort, of home,
Rose quickly like Mary, and answered, "I come."
She put from her person the trappings of pride,
And pass'd from her home, with the joy of a bride,
Nor wept at the threshold as onward she moved,—
For her heart was on fire, in the cause it approved.

III.

Lost ever to fashion—to vanity lost,
That beauty that once was the song and the toast—
No more in the ball-room that figure we meet,
But gliding at dusk to the wretch's retreat.
Forgot in the halls is that high-sounding name,
For the Sister of Charity blushes at fame;
Forgot are the claims of her riches and birth,
For she barters for heaven, the glory of earth.

IV.

Those feet that to music could gracefully move,
Now bear her alone on the mission of love:
Those hands that once dangled the perfume and gem
Are tending the helpless, or lifted for them;
That voice that once echo'd the song of the vain,
Now whispers relief to the bosom of pain;
And the hair that was shining with diamond and pearl,
Is wet with the tears of the penitent girl.

V.

Her down-bed a pallet—her trinkets a bead,
Her lustre—one taper that serves her to read;
Her sculpture—the crucifix nail'd by her bed,
Her paintings one print of the thorn-crowned head;

Her cushion—the pavement that wearies her knees,
Her music the psalm, or the sigh of disease;
The delicate lady lives mortified there,
And the feast is forsaken for fasting and prayer.

VI.

Yet not to the service of heart and of mind,
Are the cares of that heaven-minded virgin confined,
Like Him whom she loves, to the mansions of grief,
She hastes with the tidings of joy and relief.
She strengthens the weary—she comforts the weak,
And soft is her voice in the ear of the sick;
Where want and affliction on mortals attend,
The Sister of Charity *there* is a friend.

VII.

Unshrinking where pestilence scatters his breath,
Like an angel she moves, 'mid the vapour of death,
Where rings the loud musket, and flashes the sword,
Unfearing she walks, for she follows the Lord.
How sweetly she bends o'er each plague-tainted face,
With looks that are lighted with holiest grace;
How kindly she dresses each suffering limb,
For she sees in the wounded the image of Him.

VIII.

Behold her, ye worldly! behold her, ye vain!
Who shrink from the pathway of virtue and pain;
Who yield up to pleasure your nights and your days,
Forgetful of service, forgetful of praise.
Ye lazy philosophers—self-seeking men,—
Ye fire-side philanthropists, great at the pen,
How stands in the balance your eloquence weighed,
With the life and the deeds of that high-born maid.

CHAPTER XI.

THEOMANIA IN PROTESTANT COUNTRIES; PREVAILING AMONGST THE ANABAPTISTS IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY.

1521 TO 1592.

The Anabaptists.

THE barbarity of bye-gone ages was not of one clime, or of one people, or of one creed. It exhibited itself in different ways in different countries. In all the principal European nations it was evinced in burning witches. France and Germany, Spain and Portugal, had their ages of Inquisition terrors. Jew-killing and Jew-plundering were at one period prevalent religious exercises throughout Europe. Penal law persecution, sanguinary and savage, had its triumphs over justice and humanity and the beneficent spirit of Christianity for upwards of two centuries in England and Ireland. France too had its high crimes and misdemeanours against the law of Christ, and the law of nature, to answer for, its Bartholomew-day massacres, its infamies and its perfidies in the matter of the revocation of the edict of Nantes to atone for.

Verily the nations of the 16th and 17th centuries could not address these words to one another and to their God: "And thou hast said, I am without sin, and am innocent, and therefore let thy anger be turned away from me:" without dreading the awful

response from on high, of which we read in Scripture: "Behold, I will contend with thee in judgment, because thou hast said, I have not sinned." *

"The civilization of the 19th century" is a theme of great glorification with us. It is like the ale of Boniface; we feed upon it, we sleep upon it, and we dream of it: we deliver after dinner speeches about it, we manufacture hardware and soft goods for its honour, our railways and electric telegraph projects are recommended to the public for its sake; we trade with foreign nations for its interests, all our loans are raised, and all our wars are made in its behalf.

Our missionary exertions are carried on in the East against Mahometanism, in the name of civilization, and the greatest of all our military operations has been undertaken and accomplished for the followers of Mahommed, in defence of that sacred cause—of civilization. And yet the influences of such modes of civilization and the results of the operation of genuine Christianity have scarcely anything in common.

The true principles of civilization, and the pure elements of religion, are best manifested in this world in large Gospel teachings, well considered generous and heroic efforts to improve the character and the condition, moral and physical, of our race, and that portion of it especially that is most within range of our benevolent exertions in our own land.

* Jeremias ii. 35.

There are no elements of civilization in any constitutions of government, commercial intercourse, mechanical inventions, industrial pursuits, scientific discoveries, sanctions of law, and triumphs of order, or of liberty, except the true charity of Christian love be there at work, not fitfully or partially, but actively, unselfishly, and in an unsectarian spirit. There is no true civilization where the genuine influence of the Gospel is not brought to bear on the hearts and affections of men; the influence of the religion preached on the Mount, unmarred by the scandals of abused ministerial power, and uninjured by the contrasts of relaxed discipline with holy truths of the religion of Christ, its poverty of spirit, its humility, and its self-denial.

Till the evidences of those divine influences are discoverable in our civilization, and the agency of its commercial, mechanical, and warlike handmaids, it might be better if we boasted less of the spiritualizing tendencies of our imperial power and prosperity.

We learn from the solemn and undeniable statement of Dr. Winslow, that no amount of cultivation of the intellectual constitution of man can supersede the necessity of moral culture, and that while we look to the education of the intellectual faculties as being essential to the advancement of man's temporal interests, we must look with still more anxiety to the education, culture, and discipline of his moral feelings, to the proper direction and development of his moral virtues as being equally essential to his

eternal welfare. In plain terms we are taught there is no safety for man here or hereafter, and no security for society in mere secular education, unconnected with religious instruction, and in the true sense of the word, that is not Christianized by it.

"The wretch (says Dr. Winslow) devoid of conscience is of course morally defunct, but we must never forget that conscience is a relative not an absolute term; and that, like other faculties of the mind, it requires education, direction, and discipline."

And elsewhere, in reference to the inquiry—has crime decreased in proportion to the spread of education? Has eating of the tree of knowledge diminished the power of the tempter? Are the best instructed the least vicious? or is it true that so far from such being the case, it has been found otherwise? Dr. Winslow says—"The chief means of controlling the passions and of keeping them within just bounds, is to form a proper estimate of the things of this life, and of the relation of the present to a future state of existence, and of the influence which our actions in this world will have on our happiness in the next."

In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, Theomania and Demonopathy had their epidemic influences in various countries. It is a great folly to endeavour to establish that superstition and fanaticism are peculiar to the members of any particular creed in Christian countries. "Les Egaremens de l'Esprit

Humain," are not confined to Roman Catholic countries, they are to be found in Protestant Germany, Protestant Switzerland, Protestant Holland, Protestant Geneva, and Protestant America.

"The sect of Anabaptists," says Bayle, "which sprung up soon after the rise of Lutheranism, owes its origin to Nicolas Storch, Mark Stubner, and Thomas Muncer, in the year 1521. It was founded upon the abuse of a doctrine which they had read in a book, published by Luther in the year 1520, 'De Libertate Christiana.' This proposition which they met with in it, '*A Christian man is master of everything, and is subject to no one,*' and which Luther intended in a very good sense, seemed to them calculated to influence the vulgar."*

In the history of the Anabaptists under Storch and Stubner, Muncer and his associates in Thuringia and Franconia, we have abundant details of phrenzied fanaticism, which have never been exceeded in extravagance and outrageous violence in any country. We have the slaughter of thousands of the fanatics of this sect by the Landgrave of Hesse, and the execution of their prophet, judge, and sovereign ruler.† We have their successors in Switzerland, Hofman and Tripnaker, rivalling the mad exploits of their predecessors, and a little later, a baker of Harlaem sending forth a rabble of insensate devotees

* Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary, Vol. i. p. 284.

† Les Egaremens de l'Esprit Humain ou Dictionnaire des Heresies, Vol. i. p. 65.

as "New Apostles," holding nightly assemblies of the faithful, receiving the Holy Spirit in the midst of fanatical orgies, and bestowing second baptism on all those who were reclaimed by their perpetual proclamation of woe to sinners,—"Repent and be baptized, that the wrath of God may not fall on you." And here we have another Protestant prophet slain, sword in hand, defending his pretensions to divine inspiration. Then we have the successor of the slain inspired baker, running naked through the streets, exclaiming—The King of Sion is coming! and terrible disorders succeeding the proclamation; the disciples of those leaders fighting for their cause, routed, persecuted, put to death, and the King of Sion himself ultimately dispatched.

Some of the most insensate of the extravagances we have just named, have had counterparts in the wars that followed the death of John Huss, of which a very detailed and accurate account is given by L'Enfant, a Protestant Swiss minister, in his work, "Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites," 4to. Amst. 1731. Various sects of fanatics are found at different periods engaged in conflict. Zisca, the renowned belligerent zealot, who is said to have bequeathed his skin to his followers, for a drum to frighten their adversaries, defeated and massacred a large band of his enemies at the commencement of the 15th century, in the neighbourhood of Thabor. This band, we are told by L'Enfant, on some religious and military principle peculiar to their sect,

had renounced the use of clothes, "Picard their chief having commanded them always to march naked."

Picard asserted for himself the attributes of a divine messenger—nay more, he styled himself Son of God, and declared he was sent to establish the law of nature and communism in all things. His mission, though it could find no favour with people of property, morality, and of common sense, had yet the sympathies of a large class of ignorant *de-religionized* people to appeal to, and to work on. It is necessary to glance at these extravagances before we enter on the monomaniacal fanaticism of the Adamites and other sects of the phrenzied Anabaptists of Holland and Germany, and that which reigned in the form of ecstatic convulsive theomania among the Calvinists of Dauphiny, Vivarais, and the Cevennes, from 1686 to 1707.

In the following summary will be found the periods of the origin and termination of the principal outbreaks of Anabaptist fanaticism, referred to in this notice:—

Thomas Muncer or Muntzer began his career of a reformer in Saxony in conjunction with Storch, and proclaimed that he was sent by God to announce the reformation of the world by the new apostles, the judgment on the wicked, who were to be utterly cut off from the face of the earth, and the establishment of "a new monarchy," "a government of the world by justice itself," in 1521 and 1522. He had been

a disciple of Luther, but was denounced by the latter. He preached against the ministers of the Reformation and the Civil Magistrates in 1523 and 1524 in Thuringia. In 1525 he excited the people to rebellion against "the tyrants and principalities of the world" in various parts of Germany. At one time he was at the head of an army of 40,000 fanatics, of whom 7000 perished in a battle with the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse and other German princes. Muncer was taken prisoner, racked and beheaded in 1525.

John Mathias, a baker, who had been a disciple of Muncer, began his career as an apostle at Harlaem, and about 1532 became distinguished in Munster, when certain ministers of the Reformed Church proposed to the Magistrates the principal heads of "the renewed Christian religion," reduced to 39 articles, for adoption. Hereupon a party called "the Spirituals," who could by no means digest the proposed articles, began to create tumults. In one of his sallies through the city with the most infuriate of his followers, it seemed as if he and his band had gone stark staring mad. On his return to his habitation, having "the organs of speech sealed by God for three days," at the end of that period of silence he presented himself to the people, and declared God had ordered him to establish twelve judges over Israel, whom he accordingly selected, and delivered over the city to their government. Then a little later he sent twenty-six new apostles to establish the

monarchy, and one of them, John Bockhold, a tailor, of Leyden, declared that God had given him Amsterdam for a possession.

Bockhold was selected especially as "a messenger of Christ to preach the new gospel," a principal tenet of which was, that all who were unsatisfied with the new religion were to be cut off root and branch, and that the millennium was at hand. At Munster, Mathias made his ambassador, John Bockhold, governor of the city. The Apostle, John Mathias, shortly after murdered "a contumelious tradesman named Tzutling," who had disparaged his spiritual character, and then rushed forth through the city, armed with a lance, crying out that God had sent him to rout the enemy who besieged the city, but the enemy having entered the city, he was run through the body by a soldier.

"John Bockhold, we are told, was a crafty fellow, very perfect in the Scriptures, subtle, confident, more changeable than Proteus, a serious student of sedition, a most fervent Anabaptist."

In the latter part of 1533, or beginning of 1534, Bockhold being at Munster, an ambassador who had been sent there by Mathias, took a leading part in many seditious tumults, the professed object of which was, to drive out the ungodly, to baptize the repentant, and to establish the kingdom of the saints. The ungodly inhabitants, Protestants as well as Catholics were banished, their goods seized, and a good many who remained, were murdered "with un-

speakable barbarism." In the meantime, Munster was besieged by the banished citizens, and the troops of the neighbouring princes. Bockhold was nominated governor, whose mantle, at the death of Mathias, had fallen on his shoulders. The new apostle set about purifying the churches and chapels of the city, "pulled down all the brasswork effigies in them." He had a revelation subsequent to the purification, and at the command of the divine oracle, demolished many of the churches altogether. He had another divine revelation suggesting the establishment of a spiritual treasury of a very terrestrial character, to the following effect: "That every man should bring his gold and silver, and whatever more of greater importance he possessed, into the common heap, and that no man should detain anything in his house; for the receiving of which things so collected, a place was appointed."* Though the people were not a little astonished at the rigour and severity of the edict, yet did they submit to it. Moreover, he forbad the reading of all books, but the Bible; and declared that they ought to be burnt; as "the divine authority had by him its witness commanded it."

* This edict is well worthy of being borne in mind, when the fanaticism and knavery of the founder of the Mormon sect are noticed.

A revelation of Joe Smith will be found in his "Book of Mormon," precisely to the same effect as the edict of John of Leyden. It is more than probable, that Smith is indebted to the Anabaptist apostle, not only for the notion of a spiritual treasury, but for the revelation concerning spiritual wives.

John of Leyden assumed the state and dignity of a sovereign, he styled himself King of the New Jerusalem and Israel, but his reign was short, he was taken by "the ungodly," and put to death in 1536.

David George, "the miracle of the Anabaptists," a native of Ghent, son of a boatman, announced himself as a divine messenger—David the Third—a spiritual son of God, about 1525. At Basle he was received with great honours. With the Sadducees, he rejected the doctrine of life eternal. He advocated polygamy. He died at Basle, in 1556. His body was exhumed three days after his death, by the authorities, and burned with his books.

The following passages have been translated for me, from a very able treatise, entitled "The Kingdom of the Anabaptists," comprised in a German work of great merit, "Neue Propheten," by an eminent critic, Doctor Karl Hase, a Professor of the University of Jena: and in treating of this subject, it is necessary to premise, by a very staunch assertor of the principles of "The Reformation."

"My object is," says Professor Karl Hase, "to try to understand from its very commencement, a party who created a profound sensation by its insane proceedings, and if possible, to discover how much there was of reality in the tragic earnestness, of events which, looking at them from this distant period, appear like some horrible melodrama. The historian who enters zealously into the occurrence he describes,

will always end by discerning the reason and rule, by which it was animated. The party in question, and the events connected with it, however strange they may seem, are full of palpable appeals to the spirit of the age; every thing in the 16th century, should bear a religious stamp in order to carry with it any weight or influence, and this religious character appears to the common place ideas of the present century, nothing but a specious, designing mask.

"The 'New Prophets' who, in 1521, thronged the road to Zwickau, scared away from Wittenburg by the Reformers, because of their hostility to the organization which the Reformation had assumed, enunciated there for the first time the doctrine that 'infant-baptism is null, therefore adults only can be really baptized.' Anabaptism had its originators and chiefs in various localities, but above all, the Anabaptists appeared among the nations of the German race, where the Reformation had erected its standard, they had no apparent connection among themselves, nor could their doctrine be ascribed to any isolated establishment, but they grew up from the common soil of the Reformation, Anabaptism is its posthumous and natural son, bearing a strong family resemblance to Protestantism, its first-born, fighting with the latter against Papacy, and yet at the same time, necessarily disagreeing with it. Luther has applied to the Anabaptists, the passage from St. John, 'they are gone forth from us, but are not of us,' and his friend Spalatin applied to

them the proverb, 'Where God has erected a church, the devil sets up a chapel beside it.'

"In contradistinction to the array of good and bad works with which the Papacy has laden Christianity, Protestantism absorbing itself in interior worship, has taken as its motto from the source of all Christianity, the bold sentence, 'Faith alone can save us,' not a mere routine faith, such as the belief in a dogma established by the whole Church, but a complete transformation of the heart, a perfect detachment of itself from all transitory objects, a trusting and living in Christ alone. But the more earnest the belief in this all-saving faith, the more inconceivable did it appear, that it could be imparted by baptism to an infant.

"But it did not ever enter into the consideration of the Reformers to give up the old established usage of the Church of infant baptism, the religious importance of which forced itself sensibly upon them, their theological idea of it was similar to the Catholic belief, and even still more strict, that every descendant of Adam and Eve is born with an original guilt, which can be only taken away by baptism, on which account if a child were let to die without baptism, its parents or guardians would be answerable for its eternal misery. In consequence of this reasoning, evasions of the strangest kind were ascribed to the supporters of infant baptism, either they believed that the Holy Ghost worked in a hidden or mysterious manner in the infant, or else that faith

grew up with its growth. The objection to this was not far distant; this unknown, hidden, or retarded faith, is not the effect of the Holy Spirit, which in the midst of the trials caused by sin, works man's transformation through confidence in the redemption, that in effect which is called in the language of the Church, being born over again; this objection is put forth by the Anabaptists. They might say your victory over the Papacy consists in the powerful sentence—'Every work that proceedeth not from faith is vain, and every ceremony that is not accompanied by interior faith, is a mockery.' You profane then a sacrament by giving it to infants incapable of believing in God and in Christ. You are necessitated then to give up either infant baptism, or your belief in redemption by all-saving faith. They say infant baptism is a killing of the soul, an offering to Moloch; those, therefore, who were only baptized as children, and consequently were incapable of receiving the sacrament, must, if they wish to be ranged among believers, be baptized, which in fact is only *one* baptism, though outwardly it may appear to the world as a *re*baptism. They thus define it in the hymn of the two martyred virgins of Bectrum—

'The tyrants then asked them
Had they been *re*baptized,
They answer we were baptized *once*,
And that according to the doctrine of Christ,
As it stands clearly written
In the sixteenth chapter of St. Mark.
'To *Believers* shall baptism be given,'
Thus are we taught by Christ's word.'

Rebaptism then was the solemn consecration by which they became a member of this body of believers, nevertheless it was only the exterior visible mark; but just as the chalice of the Hussites, its essence had a much deeper foundation, as is proved by the spokesman of the Zwickau prophets saying to Melancthon, 'It is little this article has to do with the matter.'

"Catholicity with the labours of a thousand years had established a form of Church, the basis of which was the conviction that this defined visible Church contains within itself always, exclusive and perfect Christianity; consequently the Church, as a body, or in the high exercise of its proper authority inspired by the Holy Ghost is incapable of error, and beside this infallibility of the Church is the obligation on the part of the faithful to yield implicit obedience to all her laws in thought as well as in deed.

"Protestantism, separated from every existing Church by the exalted idea it entertained of Christianity, which, though certainly imperfect, was a closer approximation to a true exposition of it, announced to the faithful that they were free to read the Gospel, and instead of a sole belief in the Church they should rather confide in Christ and his word as contained in the holy Scriptures; here, however, in the first development of Protestantism arose an indistinctness; as the holy Scriptures are no longer a sealed up code of laws of the faith and of morals, but rather a rich garden grown up in remote cen-

turies from an assemblage of many gardens, may not the faithful gather numerous flowers, lilies, passion-flowers, and others in this garden of God, but may they not also gather poisonous herbs, and the fruit of the tree of knowledge and of the tree of life. The infallibility of divine revelation itself appears overshadowed by the insecurity of human interpretation and application. Anabaptism adhered stedfastly to the Protestant doctrine of right of judgment for the faithful, but it agreed with what Catholicity ascribes to the Church only, rather than to individual believers as the Reformers represented; that it is the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which is superior to all human error, and also above all judgment made according to human laws. It was the endorsement of the Catholic principle on the Protestant, whereby the belief of the latter in universal private judgment was heightened and adorned by investing this private judgment with the most sublime privileges of the Catholic Church, and the result of this was, that the Anabaptists believed every individual Christian to be Christ's vicegerent upon earth. The Zwickau prophets maintained that God himself held converse with them, they rejected all human knowledge, and wished that no one should seek information any where except from the goodness of God. 'Had God wished man to be taught by means of writings he would have sent us a Bible down from heaven.' According to their interpretation of the

apostolic and prophetic figure, that in the latter end God would pour out his spirit upon all flesh, 'Your daughters shall prophesy, your youths shall see visions, and your elders shall have dreams;' they believed that all this was literally fulfilled in each one of the new people of God, that 'All the people were taught by God,' the sermons of the Anabaptists often commenced thus: 'I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou dost conceal thyself from the wise and learned, and hast revealed thyself to us the little ones of the earth.' They could not then, do otherwise than treading in the footsteps of the originally inspired receivers of divine revelation, announce themselves as 'Prophets,' and the credulous multitude yielded to them, as such, implicit obedience; the holy Scriptures were understood by these prophets only, and their interpretation alone was infallible. The desire of power soon took possession of them, and then came the temptation of inventing revelations to answer their purpose; so soon as they were regarded as prophets it was easy to establish a religion of their own; it is the nature of religious excitement to favour the mysterious voice which suggests things such as had never before been imagined by the artificial genius of man, and such a religion it is thought can adduce particular precedents from the Prophets of the Old Testament, from the visions of St. Paul and the Revelation of St. John; this religion of prophecies and copious revelations enabled

many parties to obtain important triumphs in the old Church.

"In one particular the Anabaptists shewed their conformity to the genuine tendency of Protestantism in its first formation; viz., a spirit of innovation, in which, however, they far surpassed the latter, claiming for their own peculiar opinions an unlimited authority over the whole world, even placing them above the written Word of God; but in claiming this unquestioned authority for their own views before they were established on irrefragable, moral, and logical grounds, and in interfering arbitrarily with existing belief, Anabaptism fell back on the most illiberal ideas of the Middle Ages, led on by the fancied aid of the extraordinary divine impulse whose boundless power it recognised.

"The new prophet, with this belief in himself, did not act as a free thinker after his conscience and knowledge, but obeyed the gloomy influence over him, and was in constant danger of mistaking the dreams of his imagination, or the suggestions of his passions for divine revelation, and to be led by them as absolutely as if they were the divine will. Thence, according to the individual character of these prophets, their aim was truly religious and even intelligent, or else insipid, scandalous, and abominable. An Anabaptist woman has invited her friends to a repast, the table is laid but the kitchen is empty; the angel Gabriel has promised her to bring the viands, as the Lord had formerly fed the Israelites

with manna. She prayed fervently that God would not abandon them in their need, but that He would accord them still further eternal life; they tarried till night for the fulfilment of the angel's promise, and then had to leave the house hungry.

"In Amsterdam an Anabaptist, influential from all the revelations he had received, commanded the men and women to lay aside all their clothes and throw them into the fire, as an agreeable burnt-offering to God, for 'the children of God must put away every thing that appertains to the earth, and truth ought to be bare and naked.'

"A woman in Basle received a promise from the Lord that her life would be supported for many years without eating or drinking, as Moses, Elias, and Christ himself in the desert were preserved; she died in ten days.

"In St. Gall a family had passed two nights in visions and prophecies, when one brother calling another into the middle of the room, kneeling down, struck off his head before the eyes of their parents, saying, thus had their heavenly Father commanded him to do.

"Anabaptism was established on these two doctrines, rejection of infant baptism, and belief in present prophesy; thence the first Anabaptists were called spirits, and by Luther, ironically, heavenly prophets; the result of this religion of prophecies was, that it contained within itself many various opinions depending on the inspirations and fancy of

the principal prophets, and according to well informed cotemporaries, the Anabaptists were divided into numerous parties who mutually belied and denounced each other. They were the Radicals of the Reformation, which they regarded as 'too contracted, not spiritual enough nor sufficiently sublime;' they wished, in fact, to enlighten perfectly the German nation in religious truths, and more or less in political life, which they considered the Reformation had stopped half way in doing, and progressing in fury to the uttermost, they left Protestantism completely behind. Thence their breaking off with historical tradition, their ignoring all things hitherto performed in Christendom, regarding as heathens all who had been baptized before they came to the use of reason. The Anabaptists wished to be regarded as a community of unmixed regenerated persons, the chosen of God, separated from the profane world by the seal of baptism, thus marriage even with a person not re-baptized was no marriage, and was not binding. They rejected having any particular ecclesiastical body, for they held that the Spirit of God spiritualized and inspired those he pleased and whom he wished; they considered it unchristian for a preacher to take salary or titles; and the efficiency of the wandering Anabaptist began generally to be looked on with suspicion by the resident pastor. They expected the near approach of Christ in visible majesty to overthrow the existing world, and the approaching days of the Lord

furnished to their exhortations the most moving threats with respect to the extirpation of the godless, as in those days they would be barred up in a place of just punishment, where they should hide their diminished heads.

"In Zurich the Anabaptists ran about the streets with sacks upon them, and girded with ropes and switches, crying out, that in a few days the town would be destroyed, 'Woe to thee, Zurich, woe, and woe again.'

"With respect to the belief of the Church, as it was established by the early Fathers, the Anabaptists held nearly the same opinion as the Reformers, with a disposition nevertheless to attribute every thing to the heavenly Father and the Holy Ghost: 'The Father has commanded—the Holy Ghost spoke!' whilst they kept in the background the history of Christ, whose kingdom they at first professed to look for in the future. In many things they adopted the views of Zuinglius: like him they believed 'that the table of the Lord was established' as a commemoration of the sufferings of the Lord, but did not wish to give their adhesion to the doctrine 'of a piece of bread miraculously changed into the body of the Lord.' Luther remarked the connection between these fanatic spiritualists, as he called them, and the Swiss heretics, and said they both had learned the art of seeing nothing but mere bread and wine in the Lord's supper, and mere water in baptism; that the former,

in rejecting infant baptism, rejected also the belief in a miraculous working of the Holy Spirit, and only recognised in the holy ceremony a moral religious action.

"Altogether, while they really languished after the supernatural, they inclined ostensibly in their doctrines to the natural and temperate.

"An objection assigned against the Anabaptists by the Protestants of the time was to the effect, that in considering man as a free-born being, and denying the necessity of infant baptism, they also denied original sin.

"The idea of an expected renovation of all things, which a great teacher of the Church had previously enunciated, was held by some, who went so far as to assert, that when this time arrived, the wicked, and even the devil, as one of the lost children of God, would all turn from their evil ways, and enter into blessedness. The doubts of some were raised even against the throne of the one God in three persons, and against the cross as a symbol of redemption; they wished to have Christ a perfect teacher of truth, of which he is the eternal image, but not 'an idol.'

"In general Anabaptism required that those who came over to it should be possessed of the strict heroic morals of the early Christians, the same contempt for the world and its pleasures and pains, and even its outward form.

"By baptism a renunciation was made of the devil,

the world, and the flesh, and a vow taken to do nothing but the will of God. Any wilful sin of an Anabaptist could not be pardoned, and entailed on the perpetrator hopeless expulsion from the community, and loss of the grace of God. It was exactly on this account that the heresy was so dangerous, for the greater part of its adherents could appeal to the sanctity of their mode of life.

"Some parties among them were separated from the rest by various appellations, as the 'self-denying spiritual Anabaptists,' who, with their severe rules about eating, drinking, sleeping, and dressing, wished to be regarded as men dead to the world; they rejoiced in their power of suffering, and regarded this earthly life as a tiresome pilgrimage—if they saw any one joyous they took care to employ the words, 'woe to you who laugh now, for hereafter you shall weep and howl.' Then there were 'the godly passive praying Anabaptists,' who scarcely did any thing except pray, and overcame all evil by prayer alone. 'The astonished or ecstatic brothers,' who were always seeking for heavenly visions, and when the Spirit came upon them their whole body trembled with disfiguring contortions, death came before them with fearful reality, and at last they lay as dead on the ground.

"What they related when they came to themselves, as the result of the revelations with which they had been favoured, was generally very simple, either that infant baptism was an emanation of the

devil, or that all those who resisted the necessity of true baptism were rejected by God, or else, that they had seen the Zuinglians in hell. Often they could not give utterance to the mysteries which had been shewn to them in dreams.

"From their tendency to go into extremes there appeared at a very early stage a party called 'the free brothers,' who held that an Anabaptist could not sin, that he is exempt from any law, for Christ has made him free; that when the spirit acts in the interior whatever the flesh does is indifferent, all exterior signs are unnecessary beyond a profession of the faith, for God cannot become greater by men giving themselves up to martyrdom and death for their belief in Him. As the early Christians had all things in common, they wished that wives should be in common, and led away to a rash abandonment by a subtile version of the Word of God, 'Give to those who ask of thee;' they propounded this maxim of the devil, 'Give thyself up to all who desire thee;' and the phrase, 'Be willing to suffer every opprobrium for Christ's sake' they distorted into an excuse for all kinds of infamy. It is of this circle, 'the free brothers,' that all the horrors are related which were oftentimes perpetrated, such as may easily be imagined when sensuality clothes itself in the garb of piety. But these 'free brothers' in the end lost their influence in the sect, and were shunned by the generality of Anabaptists as the 'coarse and impure brotherhood,' as persons who,

attaching themselves to the letter rather than the spirit of the Bible, and adopting the emblems of the ancients, wanted to estrange the State from the Church, and wished every one to resist forcibly the taking of oaths, appearing before the lawful tribunals of justice, and entering the military service, even the acceptance of any government office they esteemed unworthy of a Christian—they refused to recognise any inequality in social position, and, consequently, addressed every one as thee and thou; the academical title of Doctor and Magister they regarded as unchristian, and among themselves they called one another brothers and sisters; they required community of property also among the believers, not on the communistic principles of avidity and cupidity, but merely from the slight esteem in which they held these goods, and the wish to have nothing for one's self alone. Some, the 'apostolic Anabaptists,' went so far as to give up home and property, wife and children, and went about without money or scrip, shoes or staff, washing the feet of the saints, preaching from the roofs of houses, or giving themselves up to childish sports in order to become as children."*

A philosophical physician, to whom the study of history, and that of the human mind have been long familiar, and one, too, who has made the disorders of the latter an especial pursuit, the enlightend

* "Neue Propheten, von Dr. Karl Hase, Professor Universitat Jena." Leipsig, 1851. Pages 147 to 158.

Calmeil, in his great work, "De la Folie, ou Description des Grandes Epidemies de Delire," has treated largely of the epidemical monomania of the Anabaptists of Holland and Germany, and the Calvinists of Dauphiny, Vivarais, and the Cevennes. Calmeil, I may observe, is very far from being an opponent of Protestantism, however disposed he may be to consider the fanaticism of Calvinism deserving of a place in the category of "Les Grandes Epidemies de Delire," which he has drawn up.

"In 1535," says Calmeil,* "seven miserable wretches who threw Amsterdam into terror, making the air resound with their cries; 'Woe! woe! the day of the divine vengeance is come!' were condemned to the flames."

Theodore Sartor, their chief, thought himself a prophet. "He declared that he had visited both hell and heaven; that he had contemplated the Creator in the splendour of his glory, and had held converse with Him. He had likewise learnt the near approach of the last judgment." This prophet prayed, usually extended on the ground; it was he who had forced his sect to utter fearful cries; before they fled through the streets, these mad people threw their clothes into the fire, and were absolutely naked when they were taken up.†

This manner of prayer of the prophet of Amsterdam was nothing new. It is said of the Manicheans:

* De La Folie, tome ii. p. 242.

† Bayle, Dict. Hist. &c. i. 12. p. 46.

"That in order that they might be thought half-gods, and different to other men, they pretended to be in ecstasies, and possessed with a spirit which caused them to throw themselves suddenly down on the ground in the presence of the people, and they remained there without speaking a word, as if insensible; then, as if they had come out of some deep cavern, they commenced prophesying in the same style as the first Anabaptists had done. . ."*

According to Melancthon:—"Nicolas Storch, the preceptor of Muncer, gave out, that God, in a dream, had revealed to him what he had desired to know; that an angel had visited him, and told him that his disciples should under him command the world, and purify the church . . . Thomas Muncer, an abjuring priest, announced to the people by his preachings and by his writings, that God had inspired him to abolish the rigorous religion of the Pope, and the libertine sect of Luther . . . He often pretended to be wrapt in meditation, as if in an ecstasy; and on awakening from those trances he recounted his marvellous visions, that his spirit watching when yet asleep, he was as it were talking to God. . . Having waited in drawn battle the princes who were armed against him, he was defeated and his troops cut to pieces. . . Those poor people, as if they were beside themselves, in no way defended themselves, nor attempted to save themselves by flight, but sung a hymn that Muncer

* Florimond de Remond. Histoire des Hérésies, l. i. p. 186.

had taught them, to invoke the Holy Spirit, waiting in vain for some help from on high, which he had promised them. . ."*

The disciples of Jean Mathias endowed their co-religionists with the Holy Spirit, by blowing into their mouth and pronouncing these words, Receive thou the Holy Spirit. We read, adds Calmeil, of the Anabaptists in the "History of Heresies," too severely criticised: "Because the Lord has said: that which you have heard with your ears, you shall preach on the house top; they went often on the tops of the houses and on the precipices of high and rugged rocks, and there mounted, crying out with heads uncovered and in a loud voice, which seemed to proceed from the very depths of the stomach, and with their eyes turned up towards heaven: My brothers, amend your lives, the Lord commands you; do penance, leave off sinning, I am sent by God. . ."†

It is certain that the Hermits, the Adamites, the modern Manicheans, of whom I have just now spoken, had the brain affected injuriously by inordinate enthusiasm in prayer.

The half of these Anabaptists, almost all indeed of those who supposed themselves inspired, who called themselves the successors of Elias, of Enoch, of the holy Apostles, and who in the sixteenth century went from town to town, re-baptizing adults, and drawing after them flocks of peasants, in Swit-

* Histoire des Hérésies, &c. 1. p. 120, &c. ap. Calmeil.

† Ibid. 1. i. p. 140.

zerland, Alsace, Pologne, Lorraine, and in most of the principalities of Germany, yielded without being aware of it, to a morbid transport of enthusiasm, so that one ceases to consider that the inspirations of those reformers were feigned, that their visions were merely fabrications. Father Catrou, in recounting in his interesting "Histoire des Anciennes Sectes Luthériennes," the belief and the principal deeds of the Anabaptists, has shewn also the long hold that Theomania had upon many of those fanatics.

According to Catrou, the famous Anabaptist Hutter frequently preached in a tone of inspiration:— "Listen to the words of the Lord; this is what the Omnipotent assures you." Such was the prophetic language he addressed to them. His ecstacies, his visions, the colloquies that he often boasted of having with God, insured him an authority which amounted almost to adoration. He was often heard to growl like a lion, his followers then believed it was the Spirit of God which moved him.

Another Anabaptist in Pologne was a still more striking example of religious enthusiasm. This man who belonged to a noble family, commenced by making his vassals adore him, having had it revealed to him that he was Christ. Soon after he chose twelve apostles, and appeared before the public surrounded by his disciples.

At Appenzel, the Anabaptist women prefaced their prophecies by singing hymns in the street. One day, a young prophetess was heard to cry out,

"I am the Christ, the true Messiah, the desired of nations. It is I who come in person to authorize the second baptism! Let no one be astonished at the sex I have chosen to appear in a second time before men; I wished to honour Eve in a second advent, as I honoured Adam at my first birth . . . Let not such great mysteries surprise you; nothing is impossible with God." Having said this, she chose her apostles, making use, very nearly, of the same words that Christ employed when he sent His apostles out; and she commanded them to baptize only those they had first instructed.

The Anabaptist George, called himself of the house of Jacob; when he saw the multitude around him, he would fall suddenly on the ground. He would remain there some time without moving; then, on a sudden recovering his senses, his features would undergo frightful contortions. His gestures were so fearful and the agitation of his body so violent, that the wisest people looked upon him as one possessed. He would then get up, and as if come to himself, he predicted the future, and manifested to the people the will of the Heavenly Father.

He designated one day, the person who would be the last on earth . . . The belief that his followers had in his word was succeeded by all sorts of extravagant fanaticism. Some persons were seen to strip themselves entirely; others to clothe themselves with hair-cloth, and cover themselves with ashes; others to hide their nakedness with leaves, as

did the first man after his fall. In this state they presented themselves before the public. A new Jonas fixed the time that the destruction of the new Nineveh should take place, namely, in forty days.

"Woe to Zurich! Once more woe," they exclaimed, "to unfortunate Zurich! The axe is already laid to the root of the tree. Penance, penance, have recourse to penance!" The Anabaptist prophets then entered into the houses of persons who they believed to be devoted to them; they exhorted them seriously to forestall the day of vengeance by a sincere conversion, and re-baptized whole families.

The Anabaptist prophets appeared affected with epilepsy. In their paroxysms of enthusiasm a great change came over their features. At times they fell upon the ground, twisted their mouths, rolled their eyes, and appeared to be in converse with some devil. When they had fostered and excited sufficiently the curiosity of those who assisted at these spectacles, they then gave vent to prophetic words.*

The leading followers of the party inspired would then appear to be guided by revelation, affecting ecstasies and visions . . . suddenly they would alter their faces, frighten the assembly by their gestures and contortions, fall on the ground as if in a fit of epilepsy, and remain there some time as if dead, without shewing any signs of life; sometimes their

* Catrou, Histoire des Anabaptistes, Paris, 1706, 1 vol. in 4to.

whole body would tremble as if every bone were dislocated, and at times would appear rigid and insensible as if in profound lethargy.

At Munster, many prophets gave vent to their transports in public places. Some kept their eyes towards heaven entire hours, as if the Lord had opened to them the seat of glory; others spoke to an invisible being, and answered the questions of an angel, who they said was present to their sight. Some others cried out that they perceived luminous dragons in the air, who by whistling sounds excited them to combat. A fanatic, mounted on a lean horse, was to be seen flying through the town, with the reins loose, proclaiming to the people that the fatal trumpet was already to be heard, and that they would immediately see the dead rising from their graves.

Inspired theomaniacs might be seen running naked through the town, crying out, as if possessed: "Woe! woe to thee, Munster! malediction on the superb Babylon! the vengeance of God upon the abominable Sodom! woe to its daughters too magnificently dressed! woe to the women decked in silver and gold! Strip yourselves of that finery, change these vestures for haircloth, and cover your heads with ashes."

"For a length of time, the entire senate was composed of theomaniacs. As the republic was composed alone of fools and madmen, it is incredible to what a length they carried their excesses in

Munster: each magistrate proposed for the rule of government the wild chimeras of his own imagination, disguised under the imposing name of revelation. It was a sad spectacle to hear the deliberations of a senate composed altogether of fanatics: some being inspired in a perfectly contrary way to that suggested to others: nevertheless, each one adhering to the dictates of his inspiration, because he believed that a special revelation had been made to him."* When such things, says Calmeil, take place in a country, where pseudo-prophets are tolerated who disseminate terror, and run about the streets without any clothing, when the multitude set these things down as super-human phenomena; when the inspired of both sexes walk about thus in public places in the midst of their disciples and apostles, the will of the Supreme Being is supposed to serve as a rule and direction to all the extravagances that mortals fall into, and it is difficult to say where will end the excesses of this religious delirium.

The Anabaptists, when they fell into the hands of their enemies, allowed their fingers, tongue, nose and ears, to be cut off, nay, even suffered themselves to be drowned by hundreds in torrents, rather than desist or depart for a moment from the orders they imagined came from God. One of them began to prophesy at the foot of the post where he was chained by the neck: "I perceive," cried he, "the

* Catrou. Ouvrage cité, p. 260, 360, 361, 373.

angel of the Lord; it is he who consoles me in my greatest trials. He tells me that the Anabaptist would cease to be odious to you if you ceased to be sinners. Strike, cut-throats; it is for Jesus, for his baptism that I suffer; Strike, and make me an acceptable victim to the Eternal." An Anabaptist woman, shut up in the prison of Basle, having persuaded herself that the Lord would sustain her with invisible food, if she tried to fast for forty days, like the Son of God, died from want of sustenance rather than give up her design . . . At Fulda, a prophet re-baptized, announced that he could walk on the waters, and that he would cross the river in the sight of all the people. And people imagined the day had come when the miracle was to be witnessed, of a new Moses advancing with an inspired air to the borders of the river, calling out for some infant that might be carried by him in his arms. An enthusiastic mother hastened to give her child to him. In a few seconds, the infant and the theomaniac disappeared in the water.

We are not to be surprised that some of the principal prophets of the Anabaptists felt no repugnance to shedding the blood of their neighbours, or antagonists, for according to their belief, the stains of the flesh extended not to the soul, whilst the body constituted itself the slave of illusions, mistaken for the orders of God. Thanks be to the maxim of their hallucination that the minds of men so inspired are impeccable, polygamy, pros-

titution, and murder were able to pass for praiseworthy instincts, or for acts of virtue.

"The abominable principle that the human mind is impeccable, generally destroyed amongst the Anabaptists, according to Father Catrou, all feeling of horror for the greatest crimes. They even committed fratricide without scruple, and sometimes even gave to it a semblance of piety. In the town of Saint Gal, says this author, two brothers lived peaceably at their trade. No jealousy interrupted their brotherly union, and they followed together the same occupation under the same roof. Anabaptism had already made considerable impression on their minds. The contortions of the prophets, their ecstasies, their predictions, had turned the heads of these two good artizans. Leonard, which was the name of the eldest, had passed all the night at work, and in conversing with the youngest whose name was Thomas. He exaggerated to the greatest degree, the doctrine of obedience to supernatural inspirations; he raved about the manner in which a Christian ought to obey the revelations of God, manifested by the prophets. The two brothers conversed on this subject, and during their conversation, referred to the command that Abraham in former times received to sacrifice Isaac. At length, both brothers felt disposed to suffer death, or to be the cause of it, if the will of the Heavenly Father thus manifested itself to them. Never were expressions of affection between two brothers more sincere than in

this moment of maniacal enthusiasm. They embraced each other over and over, and were mutually affected. It was in order to make God a more perfect sacrifice of their love, these manifestations of affection were made.

"In fine, Leonard assembled all his family and his neighbours. When the party was sufficiently numerous, without explaining himself further, he called Thomas into the middle of the room of the house where the two brothers lived. Leonard redoubled his embraces; he shed tears, he made his brother kneel down, then suddenly drawing out a sword which he had concealed, "You perceive, my brother," said he, "in the sensibility of your elder brother, all the tenderness that Abraham had for his son; shall I find in you the courage and obedience of Isaac to receive your death at the hands of a brother who loves you? It is God, it is the Lord himself, who inspires me to renew in these latter days, in you, and in myself, all the heroism that formerly signalised a father and son while the law was yet imperfect!"

"Thomas remained constant, and, without shedding a tear, he held out his neck to his brother's sword. The victim looked tenderly upon his murderer as if to bid him a last adieu. The novelty of the spectacle surprised so much the assembly, and so chilled those who assisted, that no one thought of throwing himself upon the fratricide to arrest his frenzy. Leonard with a stroke of the sword cut off

the head of his brother Thomas, which rolled at the feet of his parents and friends.

"In the heat of so outrageous an enthusiasm, he went into the street carrying in his hand the sword reeking with the blood of his brother; then with a terrific voice he cried out, "The will of the Father is accomplished!" He ran madly from thence to the public market-place, his head bare, and without shoes on his feet. The chief magistrate came to *the assistance* of the madman, and endeavoured to calm his transports. Leonard threatened him with the last judgment. At length, putting on a bold face in the presence of his judge: "Go," said he, "enter my apartment, and learn for yourself the most heroic action that has ever been accomplished for the sake of religion since the days of Abraham." The fanatic pursued his course in other parts of the town; he announced the ruin of Saint-Gal, and the end of the world. In the meantime they obtained information of the fratricide, they arrested the guilty man, and caused him to expiate on the wheel an unpardonable madness.

"Every day brought forth some new incident which rendered the Anabaptists odious. A young man who was passing through Angerbach went into an inn to take some refreshment, and, whilst he was drinking, one of the re-baptized who was there cut his throat. The murderer appeared quite calm after the crime, he went into a field and walked about

there leisurely with his eyes raised towards the heavens. He then allowed himself to be taken without resistance by the justice of the place. Being interrogated as to his motive for taking the life of an unknown person, he replied, "It is the will of the Heavenly Father!" *

The number of the atrocities of these people greatly increased and augmented in point of cruelty. In fact, the theomaniac Anabaptists henceforward rivalled in their frenzy the most sanguinary monomaniacs.

David George began to prophesy among the Frieslanders, and soon made a great number of proselytes. He often appeared to address himself to the birds with whom he held conversation. He took the title of the true Daniel, the Redeemer, the Restorer of the House of Israel, of the beloved Son of the Father; he believed himself to be born of the spirit of Christ, and participated in the Holy Spirit. He was not ashamed to receive the adoration of his fervent disciples. The surprise of the people, who thought him immortal, was very great when he died. It was only in his last moments, the time of which he had himself foretold was to be his resurrection, that those of whom he had made such fanatics, recovered from their foolish errors, and his remains were taken up from the grave and ignominiously burnt.

About the same time, according to Delancre,

* Catrou, pp. 149, 168, ap. Calmeil, t. 2. p. 253.

many other prophets rose up, whom the judges in many countries, looked upon as mere fools without any evil designs, and allowed them to go at large, compassionating their want of understanding. But in other places they tore away the mask and punished their audacity and irreligion.*

The biographies of George, Kotterus, Kuhlmann, the impostures of those men, and many other fanatics of their sect who obtained a momentary celebrity in those times, furnish a proof of the prevalence of Theomania in communities professing Christianity, supposed by them to be purified and reformed.

With the latest of these fanatics ended the grand explosion of Anabaptist fanaticism in Germany. For near a century the sect existed and flourished under various denominations. It sent missions into other countries, and we are told, "Les Anabaptistes furent traités avec la meme rigueur en Angleterre, ou cependant ils firent des proselytes; en Allemagne, en Suisse ils se reproduiserent sans cesse." †

The principal offshoots of the Anabaptist fanaticism in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, were the Adamites, the Apostolics, the Taciturn, the Perfect, the Impeccable, the Liberated Brethren, the Sabbatarians, the Clancularians, the Manifesta-

* Delancre, Ibid. &c., p. 337. Ap. Calmeil, vol. ii. ch. 2.

† Les Egaremens de l'Esprit Humain, tom. i. p. 68.

rians, the Bewailers, the Rejoicers, the Indifferent, the Sanguinarians, the Antimariens.*

We find among them claims to intercourse with God and angels—to the gift of prophecy—to the power of driving out evil spirits—to the right of persecuting opponents—to visions, ecstasies, trances, convulsive seizures attributed to supernatural influences—and all these evidences of epidemic religious mania in countries which were Protestant.

"If the Anabaptists," says a German Protestant writer,† "were not all equally intolerant, they were nevertheless all equally detested, hated, and persecuted by the Protestants much more than by the Catholics. Hofman, a furrier by trade, and preacher at Kiel, succeeded in many countries, thanks to the divine mission he pretended to have received. Dying in 1540, he left a sect which survived for a long time. David Joris at first belonged to it, but soon became himself the head of an independent sect of fanatics (Joristes), who, in the polemical treatises of their founder, discovered food for peaceful contemplations and pious enthusiasm. Henry Nicolaï, pending his flight to England, founded the "*Famille d'Amour.*"‡

But Menno, by his travels, as well as by his

* Les Egarements de l'Esprit Humain, tom. i. p. 80.

† La Réforme contre la Réforme, traduit de l'Allemand de Hoeninghaus. Lond. 1847, tom. ii. p. 102.

‡ Here we have the origin of the Agapemone of Mr. Prince and his family of love.

writings had the good fortune to reconcile the dispersed Anabaptists to the authorities, and to soften their fanatical and millenarian ideas. He was not dismayed in this difficult task by the troubles and annoyances of every description brought on him by the vices and visions of his fellow reformers. But notwithstanding his prudence and zeal, he was not able to effect a fusion between members who were subject to different laws and customs in matters of ecclesiastical discipline.* Menno, who had been converted by Abbo Philippe, and succeeded him as bishop or monitor, was able to defer for a period the explosion of mutual hatreds; but after his death in 1561, the two sects finally separated, their disputes became more bitter, and derived fuel from the confessions of faith which each community put forth. William, Governor of the Low Countries, procured the rights of citizenship for the Mennonites in 1578. Holstein, Altona, Prussia, and some towns in Westphalia, and the Palatinate, are the places where the sect of Mennonites was most openly tolerated. Among some of the Anabaptists in the Low Countries more liberal tendency was manifested towards opposing doctrines. The Flemings and people of Friesland, and the Waterlanders becoming more tolerant, began to grow reconciled towards each other, while their brethren scattered in different countries, persisted in their fanaticism, and still

* La Réforme contre la Réforme, traduit de l'Allemand de Hoeninghaus. Lond. 1847, t. ii. p. 104.

lived in perpetual discord. After many negociations they at last succeeded in forming a sort of alliance in 1649, thanks to a reciprocal toleration of various confessions of faith and to the abolition of the second baptism, which had hitherto been administered to all, who from a nominally moderate community passed into a community among those called strict. The States, anxious to prevent the spread of this sect, already too numerous, forbade the foundation of any new colonies in 1651.

The obstinacy of a number of Flemings who pronounced against any concession to fanaticism, was the cause of a new schism. Those who composed it were called Nicolaistes, from the name of a peasant in Friesland, who was as obstinate as original, and was held in great consideration among the new sect. In 1644 they were obliged to emigrate. Those who in baptism were not satisfied with a mere aspersion, but required complete immersion, were called *Dompler immergents.*

A congregation of these sectarians was established at Altona. Of quite another kind of importance was a schism which broke out at Amsterdam in the very midst of a considerable settlement. It was fomented by the two monitors, Galenus Abraham and Samuel Apostool. The former was accused of Socinianism, and in 1663 an inquiry was set on foot on this subject at the Court of Holland, but was dismissed without coming to any decision. Meanwhile his adversaries, the Apostooles, nourished to-

wards him and his party, called Galénistes, an implacable hatred. Many congregations of Flemings and Waterlænders in the Low Countries declared in favour of the Galénistes. They would not take the name of Mennonites, nor that of any other chief, preferring that of Anabaptists. Like other sects of this sort they allowed the baptism of adults, but they attached no importance to any other exercises, even baptism itself they did not regard as an indispensable ceremony. Their toleration of the most opposite opinions gained for them the name of Remonstrant Anabaptists. With wondrous ease they accommodated themselves to the most contrary doctrines and customs of their fellow-citizens. The schism continued after the death of the two antagonists, that of Apostool in 1699, and of Galenus in 1706. It would be difficult to find in any other party than among the Anabaptists, in the widest acceptation of the term, such a strange mixture of indifference and intolerance, courtesy and brutality. After Apostool, Herman Schyn was preacher to the congregation called '*La Communauté du Soleil*,' a name derived from the sign of the house where they held their meetings; another community for a similar reason took the name of '*Trouveau de l'Agneau.*' Having regard to the difference of their principles, we may call the Galénistes Remonstrants, and the Apostooles Mennonists. Differences took place among the Anabaptists about questions regarding ethics and the liturgy. At

Emdon, towards the close of the seventeenth century, some members withdrew from the assembly, merely because they maintained that the preacher's prayer before the sermon should be mental, and not repeated aloud; they were thence called *Schweigers* (the silent)—the schism between the moderate and the strict Anabaptists was of long continuance. Those who were called strict, divided into two branches, one faithful to the principles of Menno, and the other inclining towards those of the Remonstrants: so that at this period there were three classes of Anabaptists."*

"The most part of the persons, says Calmeil, believing themselves inspired, of whom I have spoken in this article, set out as reformers of the Roman Catholic religion; many amongst them, as may be seen, had at the onset of their career embraced Protestant ideas. It has been observed with great truth, that the discussions and the controversies engendered by the Reformation, had brought into being a swarm of prophets. Instead of using evident measures of repression with them, it would have been wiser to have reasoned with these monomaniacs, and endeavoured to make them comprehend they were wrong in choosing so dangerous a calling. Even now, many well instructed men are still inclined to believe that those inspired people, as they were deemed, whom I call visionaries, were endowed

* La Reforme contre la Réforme, traduit de l'Allemand de Hoeninghaus. Lond. 1847, t. ii. p. 106.

with peculiar psychological attributes, and that it is rash to doubt the reality of their prophecies; that the *clairvoyance* of Drabicius and of Kuhlmann ought to be to us a subject of admiration. They go so far as to say, that the testimony of their contemporaries will always be a proof of the supernatural wisdom of those privileged persons.

"I maintain, that according to all the historical chronicles of those times, that the predictions of the visionaries, who invested the German States at the period of the religious wars, are for the most part in direct opposition with the issue of events which should confirm their pretensions if the latter were well founded. The stamp of partial alienation is so strongly marked in the discourses and in the written productions of the theomaniacs, whose history I have given above, that it would be impossible to contest the signification of the symptoms which I have cited in such numbers. After all, the accomplishment of a prediction made by a disordered mind is not incompatible with a state of delirium. The monomaniac who thinks himself richer than all the potentates of the world, who thinks himself a king, pope, emperor, a universal monarch, who at every moment calls heaven and earth to witness that it is the voice of God who assures him of these advantages, would not be the less mad, should he have foretold the loss or the gain of a battle. Whatever may have been the clairvoyance of a Dabricius, a Hacket, a Kuhlmann, a Morin, and a hundred

other prophets whose names it would be needless to recall, it is amongst the monomaniacs that all these inspired must be ranked.

"I have often been struck with the similitude of the delirium of those who call themselves prophets, in our hospitals of the insane, with those of the delirium of Kotterus, Kuhlmann, Dabricius, and other Anabaptists. The pretenders, seeing that I would examine for myself, were all subject to hallucinations in a waking state, whilst asleep, or in a state of ecstasy. Those whose morbid sensations were overcome by momentary fits of rapture, began in general by kneeling down and praying; it was not till after some moments of recollection, that, having lost all sense of outward objects, they persuaded themselves, thanks to the exaltation of their brain, that they were *en rapport* with the Divinity, or with some other supernatural essence. We have seen, not long since, that the erroneous ideas of the Lutheran theomaniacs were entirely based upon illusions of the senses, as those of old who were illuminated were constantly in prayer—the ecstatic hallucinations were more frequent formerly than they are at present."*

The fact is well worthy of attention, that the epidemic fanaticism of the Anabaptists in Germany extended to England in the reign of Elizabeth, and although not propagated and prevalent for any considerable time, in its original form,

* Calmeil, De la Folie, vol. ii. chap. 2.

it seems to have communicated its virulence to other sects of non-conformists, who did not hold the tenets of the Anabaptists. Bayle observes that "upon the first arrival in England of the German Anabaptists in the year 1560, Queen Elizabeth, by a proclamation, had commanded them instantly to leave the kingdom."

Lingard says, "On three different occasions the Queen by proclamation ordered all persons, whether foreigners or natives, who had embraced the opinions of the Anabaptists, to leave the kingdom within twenty days, under pain of forfeiture, imprisonment, and other penalties."*

In 1574, sixteen Anabaptists were transported out of the kingdom. The following year twenty-seven were seized at their devotions in a house near Aldgate, and two of them whose obstinacy could not be subdued, Peters and Turwert, were burned in Smithfield; "the Queen calling to mind," says Rymer, "that she was head of the Church, that it was her duty to extirpate error, and that heretics ought to be cut off from the flock of Christ, that they may not corrupt others."†

But the necessity for the duty of extirpating error did not cease with this performance at Smithfield, "amidst the applause of an immense concourse of spectators."

Four years later, Matthew Hammond, professing

* Lingard, Hist. of Eng. 6th Ed. Dolman, 1844. vol. vi. p. 169.

† Rymer, xv. 740, 741.

similar Anabaptist opinions, was burned at Norwich by the bishop of that city; and after an interval of ten years Francis Kett, a member of one of the Universities, was also burned at Norwich for uttering blasphemies against the divinity of Christ.*

This brings us down to the year 1591 of the same reign, when a remarkable instance of similar fanaticism occurred, hardly surpassed by the frenzy of the German Anabaptists, for any notice of which we may look in vain in Hume's History of England.

"William Hacket, an English fanatic," says Bayle, "was first servant to one Mr. Hussey, and expressed his fidelity to him by an action perfectly brutal. He afterwards married a rich widow, and ruined her in a little time by his luxurious expenses. He had never studied, but had a great memory, which he abused in repeating the minister's sermons over his cups. This he did only to laugh at them, and had no design in hearing sermons, but to furnish his memory for this ridiculous exercise. He was a very great lover of wine and women; and he corrupted a maid who came to his house to ask his advice:—'Potator scortatorque fuit enormis, virginisque quæ ad eum consilii causa accessit constuprator.'"

* Lingard, vol. 6. p. 170.

He robbed, also, upon the highway. At last he set up for a prophet, and declared—1st, That England should feel the scourges of famine, pestilence, and war, unless it established the consistorial discipline. 2nd, That for the future there should be no more Popes. He named the time of this desolation of England, which, according to him, was to be the same year he threatened it.

He began to prophesy at York and Lincoln, where, in punishment of his boldness, he was publicly whipped and condemned to be banished.

He had a wonderful fluency in extemporary prayer; and had choice and very pompous phrases, and this made the people believe it was an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost. He had a very great confidence in his prayers; for he said, "That if all England should pray for rain, and he should pray to the contrary, it should not rain."

Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, two persons of some learning, joined with him; the first by the title of the *Prophet of Mercy*, and the second by the title of the *Prophet of Judgment*. Arthington gave out that they had an extraordinary mission, and that, next to Jesus Christ, none upon earth had greater power than William Hacket. Coppinger declared, that Hacket was the sole monarch of Europe. They afterwards went farther, and equalled him in all things to Jesus Christ, without being opposed by Hacket; for he said in his prayers,

"*Father, I know* thou lovest me equal with thyself. . ."

"They would have proceeded to the ceremony of unction, but he would not suffer them, being already anointed, he said, by the Holy Ghost in heaven. They asked him, at last, what he had to command them, and protested they would pay him obedience without reserve. He ordered them to go and proclaim through all the streets of London, that Jesus Christ was come to judge the world, and lodged in a certain inn, and that nobody could put Him to death. They obeyed with so much haste, that Arthington had not time to take his gloves. They added this admonition to their master's instructions, *England, repent, repent.* They drew together by their vociferation such a concourse of people, that having come to Cheapside they could go no farther, nor be heard; but finding an empty waggon they mounted upon it and discoursed of the important mission of William Hacket. They returned to him, and when they saw him, Arthington cried out to the people, *Behold the King of the earth.* This happened on the 16th of July, 1592.

"They were prosecuted and tried. Hacket was sentenced to be hanged and quartered on the 28th of July, and the sentence was accordingly executed. Coppinger famished himself in prison; but Arthington was pardoned. The blasphemies contained in the prayer that Hacket made upon the

scaffold are so horrid that I shall only relate them in Latin."*

* These blasphemies exceed those of Caligula, and yet they were the conclusion to a most devout prayer, whence we may infer that there is nothing so extravagant of which the heart of man is not capable. "*Hæc fuit ultima ejus oratio. Deus cœli, Potentissime Jehovah, Alpha et Omega, Domine Dominorum, Rex Regum, æterne Deus. Tu me nostri verum istum Jehovah quem misisti. Miraculum aliquod ex nubibus ostende his infidelibus, et libera me ab his inimicis meis. Sin minus, cœlos succendam, et te è throno detractum manibus meis lacerabo.*"—Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary, vol. iii. pp. 314, 315.

CHAPTER XII.

THEOMANIA IN PROTESTANT COUNTRIES—EPIDEMIC ECSTATIC—CONVULSIVE INSANITY, PREVAILING AMONG THE FRENCH CALVINISTS IN DAUPHINY, VIVARAIS AND LES CEVENNES.

1686—1706.

THE contest between the French Government and the Huguenots, was productive of enormous crimes against humanity and religion, accompanied with revolting cruelties on both sides, disgraceful to the character of a Christian people. It was productive, as we shall find, of persecution of the most abominable kind on one side, and of fanaticism of the most revolting description on the other.

Dr. Milner, in his notice of the horrid massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, at Paris, says, "I will not attempt to justify it, as the king, the queen dowager, and the ministers of France did, at the time when it happened, by pretending that the Huguenots, were on the point of executing a plot to destroy them, and to overturn the government, because it is now clear from history, that no such plot existed at that particular time. I will not

even extenuate its atrociousness by expatiating on the two real conspiracies for seizing on this very king and his court, and for subverting the constitution of their country, which the Calvinists had actually attempted to execute; or the four pitched battles which they had fought against the armies of their sovereign; or on their treachery in delivering up Havre de Grace, the key of the kingdom, into the hands of a foreign potentate, queen Elizabeth; or even upon the massacres with which they themselves had previously inundated all France. So far from this, I am ready to exclaim with Thuanus, in contemplating the horrors of St. Bartholomew's day, *excidat illa dies ævo nec postero credant sæcula.* But let the blame fall where it is due, on the black vengeance of the unrelenting Charles the Ninth, and on the remorseless ambition of the unprincipled Catherine of Medicis, who *alternately* favoured the Catholics and Huguenots, as seemed best to suit her own interests."

A German Protestant writer thus refers to the fanaticisms of the Huguenots and their persecution.* "Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the clergy of La Vendée adopted the doctrines of Calvin, and the people followed their example, throwing down crosses, and breaking the images of the saints. When Catholics are reproached with St. Bartholomew's day in the reign of Charles IX., they

* La Réforme contre la Réforme, traduit de l'Allemand de Hoeninghaus. Lond. 1847. Tome Premier, page 330.

answer, that their ancestors were forced into those extremities by an obligation to defend themselves from enemies who were ready to overthrow their religion and government. Might they not with better reason blame the Protestants for their shocking violence, and the cruel fanaticism of a vindictive, persecuting and intolerant spirit?

"The parliament set forth such disastrous pictures of these cruelties, that a general fear prevailed. The two conspiracies of Amboise and of Meaux, five civil wars, fortresses betrayed to the enemy, convents pillaged and destroyed, priests killed, nuns murdered, the faithful slaughtered at their religious exercises, and during solemn processions in the streets of Paris, Pamiers, Rhodez, Valence, &c., such are the undeniable proofs of the sanguinary brutality of which the Huguenots were guilty in the time of war as well as in the midst of the general peace. Unhappily, even were I desirous of doing so, I could not contradict these terrible accusations, which are but too well authenticated by the history of the past in France, &c."*

"The Beggars' war (*La Guerre des Gueux*) had just broken out in the Low Countries. From that moment, every town of any little importance was swarming with sectarians of every description. Three parties soon became developed.† . . . . The

* La Réforme contre la Réforme, traduit de l'Allemand de Hoeninghaus. Lond. 1847, t. 1. p. 333.

† Ibid. p. 333.

League hoisted their standard between Oudenarde and Ghent, and soon spread over Flanders. A certain Hermann Stricker, a native of Overyssel, a monk who had escaped from his convent, was the first to preach in the open air. He had speedily an audience, consisting of seven thousand men. Encouraged by his success, he assembled his followers near Alost, to preach in the open air. Armed with rapiers, fire-arms and battle-axes, they posted sentinels, and with waggons and carriages stopped up all the avenues to this church in the fields. Any one who had the misfortune to pass was obliged, whether he would or not, to assist at divine service. At the entry of this species of bivouac, were established booksellers, who sold Calvinist catechisms, religious books, and pamphlets against episcopacy. From his raised tribune, Hermann Stricker harangued the people, who placed themselves to windward of the preacher, that none of his words might escape them. Abuses of the Pope served to amuse the people, and formed the substance of these open air sermons. Here, the sacraments were administered according to the precepts of Calvin, the nuptial benediction was given to the betrothed, and the sacred bond of many marriages was dissolved without scruple. In a short time, the east of Flanders was invaded by this ever-increasing multitude. The west of Flanders was soon agitated by another monk called Peter Dathen; more than fifteen thousand persons assembled from all sides to hear his dis-

courses. About six thousand people left Antwerp in one day to hear those preachers who had pitched their tents in the open fields. Similar scenes were repeated simultaneously at Tournay, and at Valenciennes. The preachers were partly Germans, and partly French Huguenots. Workmen and persons of the lower classes, who felt themselves moved by the Spirit of God, ascended the pulpit and preached; the most considerable part of the audience were attracted merely by curiosity to hear strangers who had caused such a sensation . . . .*

One sermon was followed by others, and the daring of these fanatics hourly increasing, they at last marched their preacher in triumph, at the close of each service, with an escort of armed horsemen, thus openly defying the laws of the kingdom. The ex-monk, Peter Dathen, who took an active part in these riots, and made his name still more famous as chief of the revolutionists of Ghent, hesitated not to have recourse to force to rescue his companions who were taken prisoners. If the Sovereign by concessions might have prevented these disorders we cannot tell, but it is certain that when the concessions made to the sectarians were announced at Brussels in 1566, the war against images had been already declared. The destruction of images soon pervaded the west of Flanders, Artois, and the provinces between the Lys and the sea. A desperate band of

* La Réformé contre la Réforme, traduit de l'Allemand de Hoeninghaus. Lond. 1847, t. i. p. 334.

workmen, sailors, peasants, unfortunate women, beggars, and robbers, to the number of near three hundred persons, armed with axes, ladders, cords and even fire-arms, and poniards, roamed through the towns and villages about Saint Omer, and animated by blind fury forced the doors of churches and convents, demolished the altars, and broke and trampled the images beneath their feet. Emboldened by their first successes they advanced to Ypres, always increasing in numbers, and counting on a reinforcement of Calvinists. There they broke into the cathedral like an irresistible torrent. The walls were scaled with ladders, the pictures torn with strokes of the hammer, the pulpits and seats hacked in pieces, the altars despoiled of ornaments, and the sacred vessels stolen and carried off. Similar scandals occurred at Menin, Commines, Verviers, Lille, and Oudenarde. A similar fury possessed all Flanders at the same time. At Antwerp, where a desperate band burned with impatience to imitate the example of their brethren at Saint Omer, the departure of the Prince of Orange, recalled in haste to Brussels, was the signal of revolt. Some of these rebels, penetrating to the cathedral, mounted the pulpit, and mocking the priests, challenged the Papists to combat. A scandalized Catholic endeavoured to force them from the pulpit, and a combat took place in the church itself. On the following day these scenes were repeated; the number of rebels increased, some provided with fire-arms. At last

one man chanced to exclaim, "*Vivent les Gueux!*" Instantly this cry is echoed by the band, who call on the image of the Blessed Virgin to follow their example. Some Catholics who were in the church retired, as they could not hope to overpower these madmen. As soon as they were alone, they fell upon the statue of the Blessed Virgin, pierced her images with swords and poniards, and beheaded her statue; abandoned women and thieves held the lighted candles placed on the altar to illuminate these Vandalic proceedings; the beautiful organ, a real masterpiece of that period of art, was broken to pieces, the pictures were destroyed and the statues broken; a figure of Christ, life-size, which was placed before the high-altar, between the two thieves, was thrown down and pulverized with hatchets, while the figures of the two thieves were spared; the hosts were flung on the pavement and trodden under foot, and the wine destined for the holy sacrifice was drank to the health of the "*Gueux,*" while they anointed their shoes with the holy oil; even the tombs were ransacked, and the mouldering bodies dragged forth and trampled on. In a few hours a church was completely sacked and pillaged which had contained seventy altars, and after that of Saint Peter at Rome, was one of the most beautiful and largest in Christendom. Nor did they stop there; armed with the torches and flambeaux taken from the cathedral, these brigands set out at midnight to inflict the like ruin on the

other churches, convents, and chapels. Every new crime brought recruits to the band, and the robbers assembled in numbers; they carry off every thing they can lay their hands on, vessels, plate, sacerdotal vestments; in the convent cellars they renew their intoxication, the monks and nuns fly to escape death. At last the rising sun shines upon the horrors of the past night, but the work of destruction was not yet accomplished, there still remained some churches and convents which had been spared, these were ravaged in like manner. For three entire days these frightful deeds were continued.

In the neighbouring countries the image breakers renewed these scenes. The loss caused by these acts of violence cannot be estimated; in the church of Saint Mary, alone, it amounted to four hundred thousand florins. Many works of art were destroyed, many manuscripts and documents, important to history, for ever perished. . . .* At Tournay all the churches were despoiled of their ornaments, and rummaged in every sense to the very foundation.

The image breakers of Valenciennes joined those of Tournay, and ravaged together all the neighbouring convents. Upon this occasion one of the finest libraries that had been collected for ages was destroyed by fire. These deplorable acts were copied at Brabant, Mechlin, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Bergen-op-Zoom. In four or five days more than four hundred churches were pillaged in Flanders

* La Réforme contre la Réforme, traduit de l'Allemand de Hoeninghaus. Lond. 1847, tom. i. p. 337.

and Brabant. In the north of the Low Countries the rage for destruction also spread itself. To the cities of Amsterdam, Leyden, and Gravenhagen, the alternative was offered either to strip their churches voluntarily of their principal ornaments, or to see them carried off by force. Similar acts of violence were committed in the islands of Zealand, at Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen. These excesses far from serving the Protestant cause were of great damage to it. The sight of the despoiled churches, which, as Viglius said, rather resembled stables than houses consecrated to God, enraged the Catholics, and more especially the clergy. The intolerance of the Calvinists, who, wherever their party was sufficiently strong, oppressed the Catholics, forced upon the latter a sense of their oppressors' bigotry, and from that time they no longer interested themselves for a party from which they had every thing to fear."* The contagion of this fanaticism in the Low Countries communicated rapidly to France.

Among the French Huguenots, in Dauphiné and Languedoc, especially after they had undergone much persecution, epidemic theomania and demonopathy soon extensively prevailed.

It has been truly remarked that "the dissensions of the Reformers, and contests of Luther had produced clouds of prophets." The French Calvinists, in fact, suffered as much, in proportion to their numbers, from epidemic religious mania as the German Anabaptists.

* La Réforme contre la Reforme, p. 338.

From the best account extant of this remarkable outbreak of Theomania in France, among the Calvinists of that country, "La Theomanie extato convulsive, parmi les Calvinistes dans Le Dauphinè, le Vivarais et les Cevennes," by Calmeil, in his great work—"*Des Grandes Epidemies de Delire,*" the following extracts are taken:—"The prophetic monomania (of Germany) strongly attracted in France the attention of the Calvinists in the reign of Louis XIV. When it manifested itself with the greatest intensity amongst the partisans of Muncer, amongst Anabaptists in general, these sectaries were reduced to the last extremity: when it seized on such persons as Drabicius, Kuhlmann, Kotterus, the House of Austria had long pursued and persecuted all who held the principles of the Reformation. The excess of suffering produced the same species of mental malady among the Huguenots of France. Louis-le-Grand, so long as he understood the true interests of his glory and of his people, had not meddled with the Calvinists, whom the genius of Colbert encouraged, with the view of promoting throughout the whole kingdom the prosperity of commerce and manufactures. Louis XIV., beset towards the end of his career by scruples of conscience, surrounded by hypocritical mistresses, by ambitious and meddling ecclesiastics, tormented by the importunities of Letellier and of Louvois, left upon his name a stain of blood which will never be effaced.

"A long time previous to 1685, an epoch well

known to the world, by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which definitively forbade the French Calvinists the exercise of their religion, numberless persecutions had been already organized against them. Many of their churches had been suppressed; it was decided that no marriages should take place between the Huguenots and the daughters of Catholics; everything was put in practice to exclude the Reformers from the community, from the common privilege even of exercising arts and trades; they compelled their children to abjure, and they were baptized regardless of the opposition of their friends; soldiers, who were placed in their houses, rendered the lives of the Calvinists insupportable, and their property was confiscated in the event of their going out of the country. The punishment of the gallies, or of imprisonment, was imposed upon those emigrants who were taken whilst endeavouring to make their escape. The Calvinist schools were closed; the Huguenots were interdicted from all kinds of business, and from practising the professions of barrister and attorney; those who had merchandize consigned to them were ordered to sell or to get rid of it; Huguenot mayors were deprived of their titles; in some localities, where these religionists attempted to assemble to pray, they were persecuted without mercy, and several of their pastors were broken alive upon the wheel—*roués tout vifs.* In a very short time Vivarais and Dauphiny were inundated with sol-

diers, and in one part of the south they were compelled to support all sorts of unjust, vexatious, and bad treatment; the country became depopulated; terror struck the hearts of those who were placed in the alternative of suffering thus, or of abjuring the belief of their fathers.*

"The revocation of the edict of Nantes," adds Calmeil, "was the climax of the misfortunes of the new religionists of the French provinces. Their churches everywhere were for the most part demolished, their ministers were either obliged to go into exile, or immediately change their religion; it was decreed that Huguenot children should be taken away from their fathers and mothers, and placed under the care of some Catholic relation. There was no longer room in the prisons and on the gallies for those who were arrested on the frontiers; those who were found guilty of singing psalms, were refused the assistance of the religion of the State. Ministers who had been banished, and were caught returning to visit their flocks, were either strangled or broken alive on the wheel. Those unfortunates who would not receive the sacraments were burnt; those who died without receiving the sacraments were, after death, dragged on hurdles, and denied a Christian burial.

"When a man is oppressed and overwhelmed here below, and knows not where on earth to place any

* Court de Gebelin, Hist. des troubles des Cevennes, &c. l. 1. p. 4, &c. Ap. Calmeil, t. 2, p. 263.

hope, he easily persuades himself that it is only from heaven any assistance can come, which will enable him to crush his persecutors. The Huguenots, whose enthusiasm in their faith did not require to be stirred up, believed, that in putting themselves on the defensive, it was sufficient for them to invoke the Supreme Being for His protection in the cause of martyrdom. The words of the preacher, the chanting of hymns, the recital of the inspired writings, the lectures and the prophecies of Dabricius and of Kotterus, very soon contributed, together with a combination of other influences which we have already enumerated, to foment in the brain of the Calvinists a degree of excitement, of which the authorities neither foresaw the possibility of the explosion or the gravity of the effects.

"Florimond de Remond has established, as a certain fact, that it was only when Muncer was excited to fight by extatic visions, that his troops thought to defend themselves by singing hymns, and that the disciples of Matthieu believed they possessed the means of transmitting the Holy Spirit from one to the other. At length, the Protestants of Vivarais and of Dauphiny, and subsequently those of Cévennes, inspired each other with the like reveries and fanaticism, to organize a war of extermination against a king who sacrificed them so inhumanly to the exigencies of his policy and his ministers.

"One of these theomaniacs was reproached with

having caused some pieces of cannon to play, without intermission, on the enemy who besieged the town, after having prophesied aloud that God would give the victory to the combatants of his own party. It is generally said of the southern prophets that they seemed to mistrust Divine Providence and their own predictions, that they deserved to be compared to those half-believers, who would have people invoke the assistance of the gods, whilst putting their own hand to the work, who expected that the labourer should pray whilst putting his hand to the plough; and that the general, to obtain victory, should demand it of the gods when fighting for it manfully. Many of the pseudo-prophets, and prophetesses, often gave proofs in Le Vivarais, Le Dauphiné and Cévennes of an unshaken conviction in their inspirations. Fléchier expresses himself in the following manner, in giving an account of the first military expeditions that were sent against the Calvinist assemblages of Vivarais:—"They seized, in the beginning, on a prophetess, whom they conducted to Torrette, who kept exclaiming, continually, on the way, 'Cut off my arms, cut off my legs;' and she constantly refused to eat, lest it might offend the Holy Spirit, who nourished her. . . . . The brother of this mad woman was as mad as herself. He preached that he saw the devil, of whom he made most ridiculous descriptions. He asserted that the Holy Spirit spoke by his mouth, that he was a greater

prophet than Moses; that, whenever he pleased, he would change stones into bread; and, in short, that he represented in person Jesus Christ, that he was himself the Son of the Eternal Father, that theirs was the gospel which they were bound to believe, on pain of damnation."*

"The faith of these two theomaniacs, in their divine attributes and mission, certainly remained unshaken under the severest pains of martyrdom. Fléchier relates that one day, when the troops were on the point of making a charge upon the new religionists, many of them advised, that they should disperse, but that "the prophets and prophetesses looked upon the latter as reprobates, and told them that having all of them the gift of the Holy Spirit, and being under the protection of the holy angels, they had nothing to fear; that the fighting men could do no injury to those who had faith, and, in any case, that Paradise was open to them." "Some of them," adds Fléchier, "said, that the angels descended on them like swarms of gnats, and encompassed them; others said, that the angels, as white as snow, and in size no bigger than a finger, fluttered about them; others, again, said that they saw the minister Homel, walking about in heaven, robed in white."†

"How do they conduct themselves in the moment

* Fléchier, Lettres Choisies, &c. 1. 1. p. 390, 391.

† Fléchier, 1. 1. p. 392.

of danger? When the troops come down upon this multitude of insane people, they give way, they divide into small parties, embrace one another, and blow into each other's mouth, thus to communicate the Holy Spirit; then they came on boldly before the troops, with the idea that they had become immortal and invulnerable, or at least that they would in a few days be resuscitated; but they were surrounded in the mean time, and it is the general opinion that three or four hundred were killed or wounded.*

"The bravest captains of Louis XIV. declared without hesitation, that they had never seen anything comparable to this spectacle, and that courage alone, without madness, appeared to them quite insufficient to inspire, and to explain a similar recklessness of life and contempt of suffering.

"Since physicians in our days have thought it a duty to distinguish certain shades and varieties of monomania, some pretending defenders of the interests of religion have not failed to cry out against the tendencies to impiety of the *manigraphes.* They may perhaps," continues Calmeil, "after having read the paragraphs, especially which I borrowed from Fléchier, that pretended inspirations of the Divinity are hallucinations which drives so many devotees to rush with joy into the midst of a deadly conflict, looking on death, however certain it may be, as a thing perfectly impossible."

Brueys, like Fléchier, acknowledged and attested,

* Fléchier, 1. 1. 394.

in common with all those who witnessed the acts of the Calvinist theomaniacs, that they were not able in many instances to understand the drift and consequences of their mad resolutions, and were far too much exalted in their enthusiasm to doubt for a moment the help they expected from on high. Brueys, after relating that a colonel who had been warned by the howlings which were heard from the mountains of Cheilharet, that an assemblage of fanatics existed in the rocks, determined to invest the defiles and to fall abruptly on them, ends with this account:—

"At length the most extraordinary and ridiculous battle that ever was seen began. Whilst the rebels who were amongst the enthusiasts poured down from the heights showers of stones and some discharges of musketry, upon the dragoons and the infantry, the prophets and prophetesses advanced towards the troops in a most ferocious manner, blowing upon them with all their strength, and crying aloud, *tartara! tartara!* These mad people firmly believed that nothing more was necessary to put to flight all the troops; but seeing that the soldiers continued to advance, and that the most eminently inspired of their own party were cut down like the others, they took to flight."*

"We may easily believe that monomaniacs who pretended to participate in the nature of the Supreme

* Brueys' Historie du Fanatisme de notre temps. 3 vol. in 18, t. i. p. 180, 181.

Being, who proclaimed themselves to be invulnerable and immortal, should persuade themselves they were able to stop their enemies with ranting exclamations, or put to flight an army by blowing on them. For a considerable time the prophetesses of Vivarais were seen having recourse to such means, uttering words and blowing with their breath, with the view of overthrowing the troops who crushed them under their horses' feet.

"Sometimes, on returning after an expedition, it has occurred that a young prophetess would rush on the soldiers hissing like a reptile, and that the assailant had been put an end to, finding it impossible to stop her invectives and ungovernable fury.

"On other occasions, one heard that some theomaniacs prayed the soldiers to put them to death in cold blood, in order that they might instantly be numbered amongst the elect of heaven. During an action, when the employment of the troops was almost limited to the work of cutting down opponents incapable of any formidable resistance, they saw the prophetess Sarra, daughter of the theomaniac, Beraud, advancing before the musketeers, vociferating like one mad, and crying out with all the strength of her lungs, '*Tartara!*' Having seen her father perish, and being herself dangerously wounded, she nevertheless maintained in the presence of her conquerors that she possessed the Holy Spirit; and it was only at the end of sixty hours, and after she had taken food and slept for some

time, she became sensible that she might have yielded to the illusion of insanity.*

"The history of the father of this prophetess proves more plainly than any reasoning in the world, that the Calvinist theomaniacs exhibited at times, at least, a great many signs of mental affection clearly characterised.

"This man," says Fléchier, "was sixty years of age, a labourer by occupation, strong and robust for his years. Up to that time he appeared to have had a good understanding; he was never at the assemblages of the Calvinists; he had even often reprimanded his children for having assisted at them, and expressed much regret at the misfortunes they occasioned. But his children brought home every day such wonderful accounts of what they had seen, of the power of the prophets, of their extraordinary grimaces and ceremonies, of the heavens opening, and of the angels whom they saw, that this worthy man, fancying himself at length as much a prophet as any of whom they spoke to him, on a sudden began to act as they did. On his first seizure he was in bed, and jumping up suddenly on his feet, he carried with him the canopy of his bed, though very heavy, and threw it to some distance, crying out and muttering in an incomprehensible way unknown terms that no one could make out. He immediately convoked all the villagers; and his children, quite elated at this, went from house

* Brueys, Ouvrage Cité, l. 1. p. 145.

to house, saying, 'Come and see my father, who has received the Holy Spirit, and prophesies!' ... At first setting out, he called himself St. Paul, and rubbing his body all over, he gave it to be understood in his confused language that he saw white angels descending the chimney. He ordered a bench to be brought him, and began singing the tune of a psalm all alone (he had never learnt the words, and did not know how to read or write). He moved about the assistants, and placed some on his right hand and the others on his left, as if he had done something very important. He tried to preach, and was stammering for half an hour without pronouncing distinctly any other words but those of 'Mercy and repentance.' Then he imagined that he saw angels beating one another in the air; then that he saw Jesus Christ coming down the chimney. He agitated himself so violently as to become almost breathless; then he would say he could stand it no longer, the Holy Spirit was burning him: he would throw himself down on the ground on his face, and perform innumerable extravagances, which his assistants on their knees admired greatly."*

"One is forced to allow, after reading this account, that the soldiers were employed in the war of Vivarais in fighting against insane people; and one cannot but be surprised that so palpable a truth was not long since explained by those writers on mental diseases, who are termed *manigraphes*. When one

* Fléchier, Lettres Choisies, t. 1. p. 394.

hears it foretold by a prophetess that the hail is about to destroy the country, that the incredulous will ere long be wandering from mountain to mountain, that a star detached from the heavens is to crush the town du Saint Pere; when one hears another say that the mass is the mother and the wife of the devil; when others repeat that they see red and white angels carrying in their hands the vials which contained the wrath of God, and that amongst all of them the extravagance of their actions coincides with their whimsical sensations and ideas,—one cannot but feel affected at the fate of a people who had been thrown by misfortune into such a state of delirium, and whom it was thought necessary to sacrifice, as they were no longer capable of listening to reason, and rendered themselves formidable to the Government by their daring acts.

"The theomaniacs who overran to a great extent Le Vivarais and Le Dauphiné, from 1679 to 1690, all shewed signs, in different shades, of the same series of morbid phenomena. The number of false prophets became at last more considerable than the prophetesses. Many children suffered as well as adults from the inspiration of religious fanaticism. "The madness of these enthusiasts (says Brueys) spread with such rapidity throughout that unfortunate country, that the flames of a conflagration driven along by the winds, is not more quickly communicated from house to house, than the swiftness with which this insanity flew from parish to

parish . . . I do not exaggerate when I say, that les Boutieres was filled with these fanatics, or with the madmen who flocked after them. All who witnessed the assemblies that took place at Saint-Cierge, Praulez, Tauzuc, Saint-Sauveur, Saint-Michel, Gluyras, Saint-Genieys, asserted that the smallest number at those gatherings was at least four or five hundred, and at many of them that three or four thousand persons were congregated." *

"Madame de B., the widow of a member of parliament of Grenoble, thought herself inspired after having listened to the *improvisations* of the prophetess Isabella. That lady pursued by the *intendant* of the Dauphiné travelled along the shores of La Drome, endeavouring to reach her country-house situated at Liveron. Nearly three hundred persons who heard her preach were seized with the spirit of prophesy; and if M. Bouchu, who was watching the fanatics in all directions, had not promptly acted, there is no doubt, according to Brueys, that in a short time every man in the locality would have become a prophet." †

"The prophets might be counted by hundreds and thousands. Twenty, thirty, and fifty mountaineers were often inspired in one night. For one prophet that was arrested, says Jurieu, twenty would rise up. A man who had no thoughts of prophesying at the time when they began to imprison the pro-

* Brueys, Ouvrage Cité, l. 1. pp. 145, 168.

† Ibid. l. 1. p. 131, &c.

phets, retiring at night from a meeting of his friends in the village, appeared on a sudden struck with the malady, threw himself on a bank covered with two feet of snow; then, with his eyes closed as if asleep, he began to preach and to prophesy." *

"The elderly priestesses, feeling as they said the breath of inspiration coming upon them, cried out, 'Here is the God, here is the God, whose spirit penetrates us!' After which they fell down, struggled for a few seconds in a convulsive way, and foaming at the mouth began to prophesy enthusiastically. The theomaniacs of Dauphiné were possessed with the same kind of morbid ecstasies as the maniacal sibyls of ancient times.

"After 1700, when the prophetic enthusiasm broke out in Cévennes, the women and children especially became subject to the contagion. Thousands of women according to the Marquis of Guiscard persisted in prophesying, and in singing their inspirations, although they were hanged by hundreds—*quoiqu'on les pendit par centaines.*" "I have seen amongst those people," says the Marechal de Villars, who terminated the war of the Camisards, "things that I could never have believed had they not passed before my own eyes. In an entire town, all the women and girls, without any exception, appeared possessed by devils. They trembled and prophesied publicly in the streets." †

* Jurieu, Lettres Prophetiques.

† Vie du Maréchal de Villars, p. 325.

"When the Catholics thought they had triumphed over the constancy of the Protestants," says the author of the 'Theatre sacrè des Cevennes,' "Providence overthrew their hopes by the means of those very children whom they had taken such pains to bring up in error, who like so many prophets aroused their fathers and mothers from their spiritual lethargy. These unforeseen preachers did not a little surprise the Catholics, who, to forestall the effects of their exhortations, gave out that they had been instructed and led on by impostors. They had some of them flogged, and burnt the soles of the feet of others. . . . But the young prophetesses remained unmoved, and their numbers increasing rapidly to nearly eight thousand in Cévennes and Le Bas Languedoc, the intendant of the province gave orders to the doctors of Montpellier, that they should call upon the faculty of medicine to assemble at Uzés, where a number of young children had been confined. Conformably with this decree, the doctors made a sort of examination of these children's looks, their ecstacies, and the speeches they improvised." *

"The faculty declared these little prophets were possessed by fanaticism; but nothing could allay the violence of the inspired. The parents, whom they also punished, because it was supposed they contributed to develope in their children this nerv-

* Le Théatre sacre des Cévennes, &c. in 12mo. Londres, 1707, p. 17.

ous excitement, often ended by replacing the children in the hands of the authorities, saying, 'Treat them as it may seem best to you; for we cannot prevent them prophesying.'"

We are assured, by witnesses worthy of belief, that it was very common to see children of seven and eight years old seized with ecstasies of theomania.

Pierre Chamar says: "I knew, at Tyes, a person named G——, who had a little boy of five years old, who prophesied. Several times, in my presence, he fell down on the ground, his mind being seized, with violent movements of the head and the whole body. After which he spoke; he predicted evils to Babylon, and benedictions to the church. He exhorted them strongly to repentance; but the poor child was at times so much agitated, that his words were unintelligible. He always spoke French. He made use of such expressions as these:—'I tell thee, my child; my child, I assure thee,' &c."*

Guillaume Bruguier says: "I saw, at Aubessargues, three or four children, between three and six years of age, who were inspired. Whilst at the house of a man named Jacques Boussigue, one of his children, aged three years, was seized with the spirit, and fell on the ground. He was greatly agitated, and gave himself violent blows on the chest, saying, at the same time, that it was for the

* Ouvrage Cité, p. 19.

sins of his mother he was suffering. He added, that the end of the world was approaching, that we must fight courageously . . . for the faith, and do penance for our sins . . . I heard this myself.

"I was also present when little Suzanne Jonquet, who was about five years old, fell into fits resembling those of the little Boussigue. She talked aloud in good French, and I know that when out of the ecstasy she could not speak that language. She said, that the deliverance of the church was at hand, and exhorted an amendment of life. These two children both used the expressions:—'I tell thee, my child,' &c."

"When I was at Ferroux, I saw a little girl, of six years old, named Marie Suci, who, after the whole body, and particularly the chest, had been convulsed for a quarter of an hour, began to speak. Her father and mother, two of her brothers, and several other persons, were present at the time. She said that we did nothing but offend God, and that we must change our conduct, and live better for the future. She added, that Babylon (l'eglise papiste) would be destroyed before long."*

Jacques Bresson says: "As there were many of those inspired, in my neighbourhood, with whom I was acquainted, I had frequent opportunities of seeing them whilst in a state of ecstasy. There were many children of seven and eight years of age; but

* Ibid. p. 36.

I will particularize a child of three years old, whom I saw four or five times in those fits. He spoke aloud very distinctly, in good French, and made very touching exhortations."*

Jacques Dubois says: "In a valley called the Combe du Renard, near La Rouvière, in a part of Anduze, I was in the house of a friend, where a little boy of six years old had taken refuge, or rather, had hid himself. This child, in my presence, fell into fits, spoke with a loud voice, in good French, exhorting to repentance, made some predictions, and, amongst other things, said, that one part of the great Babylon would be destroyed in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight."†

David Flotard says: "I went, with a certain priest, to see a little girl between six and seven years old, who was seized with the spirit in our presence. The priest was greatly astonished; for, much as he pretended, I am persuaded that in his heart he looked upon it as something more than natural. Notwithstanding all she said, she always maintained that it was not herself who caused these violent movements, neither had she any design or wish to speak; that she was impelled by something stronger than herself that she could not see, which was doing this within her," &c.

"I have seen an infinity of other children and persons of all ages of either sex, inspired. According to the calculation of those who undertook this

* Ibid. p. 22. † Ibid. p. 33.

examination, there were found at least eight thousand in the provinces, and it was especially in those assemblies where they gathered together for prayer that there was the most. I have seen numbers of them taken to divers prisons; and, however badly they were treated, they always appeared filled with joy, singing psalms, and continually praying to God. The prisons were in a short time so full of those unfortunate people, particularly children, that they knew not what to do with them, when an order was sent from the Court to throw open the prison doors, and for the future to make no more such prisoners, &c."*

"The first demonstrations of childhood, generally, are only the reflection of the ideas which strike them whenever they turn their eyes upon those who watch over their wants with solicitude; the first words they try to stammer are also but the repetition of those which they hear most frequently sounded in their ears. Instances have occurred, it would appear, of infants who had scarcely left the cradle, in the Cévennes, when they were seized with spasms followed by transports of a kind of delirium."

Jacques Dubois says: "I saw a boy of fifteen months old, in his mother's arms, at Quissac, whose whole body was terribly convulsed, particularly the chest. He spoke with sobs, in good French, distinctly, and in a loud voice; but, for all that, with interruptions, which made it necessary to listen

* Ouvrage Cité, p. 60.

attentively to catch certain words. The child spoke as if God spoke by his mouth, always making use of such terms as the following: 'I tell thee, my child.' This very child was put into prison with its mother. . . . I am persuaded that I have seen above sixty other children between the ages of three and twelve in a similar state."*

Jean Vernet says: "About a year before my departure, two of my friends went with me to visit Pierre Jacques, a common friend, at Moulin d'Eve, near Vernon. While we were together, a girl belonging to the house came and called her mother, who was with us, and said, 'Mother, come and see the baby.' The mother then immediately called to us to go and look at the little infant, who was speaking. She added that we need not be frightened as similar miracles had occurred before. We all ran in without delay; the infant of thirteen or fourteen months old was swathed in the cradle, and he had never as yet either talked, or walked by himself. When I went in with my friends, the child spoke French distinctly, with a loud voice, considering his age, in such a way that he could be heard all over the room. He exhorted, like those inspired whom I had seen, to do works of penance. The room where the infant was, soon became full – there were at least twenty persons in it—and we were all crying and praying around the cradle. After the ecstasy was over, I saw the

* Ouvrage Cité, p. 32.

child in its ordinary state. The mother told us that his body had been convulsed at the commencement of the inspiration, but I did not observe that when I entered."*

"The love of the marvellous," says Calmeil, "has caused some writers to say, that the children of some of the French Calvinists even prophesied whilst yet in their mother's womb. Fléchier, whose words have been misinterpreted, has printed what follows.

"An inspired person who was told from kindly motives, that the King must be obeyed, replied insolently that he feared nothing, and that he was gifted with the Holy Spirit. He uncovered his stomach, and making two steps backwards: 'Fire that gun at me,' said he to a person bearing arms, 'you cannot do me any hurt.' He added, that in a fortnight he would be confirmed in grace, and would go to Paris to convert the King. The wife, by contagion, became as mad as the husband. She imagined that the infant in her womb would prophesy, and convert the whole world. The soldiers afterwards, having arrested her with her sister, on conducting them to the place of confinement, were amused all along their route hearing them talking of this marvellous inspiration; one of them, applying her ear to the abdomen, would say, 'Listen to the child who is prophesying in the womb:' the other repeated from time to time, 'Do you not see

* Ouvrage Cité, p. 15.

the Holy Spirit, who is leaping and dancing, and I feel it with my hands!'*

"One of these women persisted that her infant spoke, because she allowed herself to be imposed upon by vocal hallucinations, like those who suppose they hear the trees and the fish speak. The other allowed herself to be imposed upon by visual hallucinations.

"Fléchier, much as he was given to mock at the fanaticism of the Calvinist theomaniacs, often made very just reflections upon the causes of the spread of those influences which upset the minds of those pretended inspired persons. He thinks one ought not to be surprised at the multiplicity of prophets and prophetesses, and endeavours to assign a reason.

"These poor people (says Fléchier), it is to be observed, never heard any other kind of devotions spoken of, they saw in those assemblies the same representations as those which they were themselves constantly practising. They were commanded many days of fasting, which weakened their intellect considerably, and rendered them more susceptible of those chimerical visions, and of that foolish belief. The journeys they took from parish to parish, from mountain to mountain, passing nights and days without tasting any other food except apples or nuts; the scenes that took place when they abandoned their homes,

* Fléchier, Relation des Fanatiques, &c. t. i. des Lettres Choisies, p. 365.

and left all to join the assembly of the elect, and of the faithful, like them to give utterance to imaginary predictions; to have their little ambition gratified of being mounted in some public platform, and to be listened to as an oracle; to have the power by a single word to make hundreds of persons fling themselves on the ground; to consecrate, if one might use the term, their extravagances, and to make their madness appear venerable by the mixture of some texts of Scripture erroneously explained; these were amongst the many causes of the prevailing epidemic theomania. The ignorant are disposed to follow and to imitate: they have error imparted to them as if it was breathed into their hearts and mouths. And thus they formed amongst themselves a generation of prophets and prophetesses by means of the eyes and ears, rather than by the mind and by faith, so that they all became either deceivers or deceived by the contagion. So much for the communication of the Spirit of God, and of this prodigy about which they made such a noise!!*

"The Bishop of Nismes relates, that this delirium of theomania at first took possession of the mind of a Protestant, who had visited some refugee theologians who had established themselves at Geneva. He states also that many prophets re-baptized their children, saying that *all other* baptism was the baptism of the devil; from which it seems evident

* Fléchier, Relation des fanatiques dans l'ouvrage deja cité, t. 1. p. 370.

that the malady of the French Protestants was only a repetition of that of the ancient Anabaptists, whose extravagant ideas they had as it were exhumed."

Brueys pretends, as well as many other Catholics, that the first theomaniacs who appeared to yield to the prophetic movement, were only impostors inspired by a vehement desire of gain, and who set forth preaching the mysteries of the Apocalypse to excite the unfortunate people to a state of delirium, with the intention of working upon their madness. If we may believe Brueys, an old mountaineer, bribed by a secret meeting of refugee Protestant ministers at Geneva, was the first to light the spark of evil in founding with deliberate design, in the midst of mountain precipices, a school of fanaticism, and in causing by an excess of fasting a certain number of young people to fall into ecstasies, and to improvise on religious subjects as if they had been seized by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. A learned logician, observed long since, that this mountaineer might very well himself be charged with theomania. This supposition appears to me very evident, and is in no way contradicted by Fléchier. It is sufficient for us to state that the first small troop of prophets most probably came from the mountain of Peyra in Dauphiné, and that it is certain that all the inspired were under the dominion of a morbid impulse. Brueys himself assists us in establishing that fact; this author says: "It was necessary that those whom they desired

should pass off as inspired by the Holy Spirit, should think themselves that they really were so, in order that they might the more easily persuade others, and that their reputed madness placing them above the fear of punishment, they should not be prevented by any considerations, from spreading abroad the seditious prophecies which must end by bringing the people into a state of revolt; that is to say, it was necessary to begin by making those persons mad, whom they intended for prophets, and the overturning of the mind was the first step they must take with those who aspired to the gift of prophesy."*

"It is clear from the above citation, that the first inspired of the Calvinists had given rise in the minds of the Roman Catholics to suspicions of their probity and good faith; but it was not consequently indispensable, that their Calvinist leader should be himself afflicted with theomania, in order to create in the brains of his co-religionists, accidents more or less serious. Did not Mesmer provoke accidental and most varied hysterics, without ever having himself so manifested any disposition to nervous attacks? It happens also every day that magnetisers throw people into a state of somnambulism without ever being themselves affected by it; there are likewise means used to bring on ecstasies. And, even if the first prophet who lived at Peyra was only an impostor, it does not consequently follow that the theomania of the others

* Brueys, Ouvrage Cité, l. i. p. 103.

who were inspired was feigned; though it is more than doubtful that this first prophet simulated by design a malady which he could have known only very imperfectly.

"Finally, it was this opinion of his imposture which caused it to be believed that every artifice was put in train to augment and multiply the number of theomaniacs. For some time it was indispensable, in order to be considered truly a prophet in the Vivarais and in Dauphiné, the neophyte should have been recognized as such by a prophet of rank, and in the presence of a great number of their co-religionists. They then proceeded to the reception of the pretender with a show of solemnity.

"When the Calvinists of any country had constituted themselves into an assembly, the prophet who presided at these religious re-unions always finished, after having uttered repeated cries of mercy, and having chanted a certain number of psalms, by falling on the ground, with a part or almost the whole of the faithful, and at the expiration of some moments obeying the spur of inspiration. When the discourse was finished, the prophet approached those neophytes whom he deemed worthy to receive the gift of prophecy, and blowing into the mouth of each of them, "Receive," said he, "the breath of the Holy Spirit." The newly elected immediately began to speak as if by inspiration, and after he had ended his prophecy, he hastened to breathe the *spirit* into some other pretender, whose tongue was upon

the spot also loosened, and who then rendered the same service to his friends.

"But it ought to be well understood that those new prophets had for a length of time been ailing mentally before they practised that ceremony. Those who placed themselves in the ranks to receive the mark of inspiration affirmed, for the most part, that they felt the prophetic spirit had begun to lay hold of them, when they supported on their knees, the head of any prophet who had fallen down in convulsions, that this spirit seemed to introduce itself by the thigh, which appeared to them to be of iron, and from thence extended to the whole body, which was agitated by a kind of shuddering.

"It was not only in the assembly, says Brueys, that they fell down when crying out mercy, but in the country and in their houses; and to make it believed that these falls had something in them of the marvellous and divine, they said that they began with shudderings and weaknesses, similar to those feverish symptoms which obliged them to extend their arms and legs; they yawned frequently before they tumbled down; and whilst they were on the ground, they had fits which caused them to foam at the mouth, their stomach and throat became swelled, and they suffered a good deal in that state; some of them remained in that condition many hours, and those advanced in years continued much longer in it than young people. Thus, it was not because they blew into their mouth that the brain became affected,

but this operation might strengthen them to preach, and as the gift of speech is the mark of inspiration, they might think themselves justified in refusing the neophytes the title of prophet till they had publicly poured forth their first improvisations.

"Ultimately it was seen they could prophesy without having inspiration breathed into their mouths. Everywhere theomaniacs were to be found who improvised spontaneously, as they had also fallen spontaneously into convulsive fits; so that if they sometimes proceeded publicly to the reception of a prophet or prophetess, it was merely for the purpose of spreading a kind of éclat on his apostleship.

"In fine there would naturally exist some difference in so considerable a number of sick people. The perfect theomaniacs were subject to convulsions, to ecstasies, to hallucinations, to fixed ideas, and they possessed the faculty of improvising. Some Calvinists, on the other hand, only had convulsions and hallucinations.

"The intensity of the fits varied. They called those *trembleurs* who only experienced convulsive shocks in the head, the shoulders, the legs, and the arms; the others were accounted epileptic. Sometimes the fits were sufficiently violent to throw down the patient, at a moment when they least expected it. They often incurred danger thus, though they did not like to acknowledge it. "My brother Pierre," says Bruguier, "received this grace be-

tween fifteen and sixteen years of age. I heard him several times during the inspiration. When the spirit seized him, he generally fell to the ground and grew quite pale. When we were at an assembly of about three hundred persons, near Aubessargues, he was placed as sentinel upon a tree adjoining the assembly. I saw him fall from this tree, above twelve feet high, having been suddenly attacked; he was not at all hurt. After several fits, which lasted for the space of a quarter of an hour, he said amongst other things that there were persons in the assembly who went there for the purpose of selling him."* "One day when five or six of us were assembled near our house, the renowned Jacques Rebout, our countryman, who had received the gift, being seated on a steep rock near us, about seven or eight feet in height, fell in the road, being suddenly seized by the spirit, but he was not injured. The fits continued with violence to convulse the whole of his body. Some amongst us, not having seen anything of the kind, imagined it was some weakness, and that he must be hurt by the fall, and ran quickly to fetch him some brandy, but he took care not to taste it while he was in that state. After terrible fits he commenced speaking and exhorting to repentance."†

"Equally sudden falls took place during the marches, the counter-marches, and the most import-

* Théatre sacre des Cevennes, première partie, p. 37.

† Ibid. première partie, p. 15.

ant expeditions, till the time of the retreats. I know only of hysterics and epilepsy which could produce the like accidents. The theomaniacs of Dauphiné, who complained of having suffered a great deal during the convulsive fits, who had experienced the most painful swelling of the abdomen and throat, preceded by epidemics and yawnings, were, if I judge rightly, afflicted simply with hysterical fits."

Claude Arnasson reports the following facts which he collected at Cévennes. "There lived at my father's a shepherd, named Pierre Bernaud, who was a poor idiot. He begged me, sometimes, to take him to the assemblies; but I dared not do it, fearing his weakness, and consequently his indiscretion. However, I once hazarded it, and took him to an assembly which took place at night. Whilst there, I remarked that he went down on his knees, and continued in that position nearly two hours. Immediately afterwards, he fell down as if dead, till at length his whole body was greatly agitated. The next day he again fell down, and the convulsions were much stronger. As he was laying on his back, his body was lifted up, and leaped as if he had been shaken by a strong man. We were afraid he would injure himself, and three of us endeavoured to hold him down, but it was impossible to arrest the violence of his movements. He continued in the same state, beating himself, and he was bathed in perspiration. The same accident happened to him two or three times before he spoke; when at length his supreme

Master, the Holy Spirit, having opened his mouth, the first thing he said was, that he had been thus tormented on account of his sins."*

"On this occasion, the nature of the malady appeared very much to partake of the character of epilepsy. The violence and length of these convulsive muscular paroxysms might, however, rather lead one to think that this shepherd had fallen down from hysterical attacks. This opinion seems still more confirmed by the quick cessation of these spasmodic phenomena, which happened ere the patient had time to give vent to his ideas by improvising." †

* Ouvrage Cité, p. 31.

† Calmeil, Grandes Epid. de Delire, t. 2. pp. 198, &c.

CHAPTER XIII.

THEOMANIA IN PROTESTANT COMMUNITIES—EPIDEMIC ECSTATIC—CONVULSIVE INSANITY PREVAILING AMONG THE FRENCH CALVINISTS IN DAUPHINY, VIVARAIS, AND LES CEVENNES.

1686 to 1706.

THE convulsions of the inspired are so often noticed in *Le Theâtre Sacré des Cévennes*, that we are enabled to form a very exact idea of the expression of these convulsive phenomena. Many of these improvisators could dispense with sitting down or extending themselves on the ground, (the usual preliminaries of outbreaks of inspiration) and limit themselves to a certain number of contortions or grimaces before they spoke, or during the delivery of their harangue. The involuntary agitation of the shoulder-blades, of the throat, the head, the spine, and the trunk, may be considered in the case of these people as analogous, in some degree, to the symptoms of those affected with the dance of Saint Guy.

Jacques Bresson says: "I have seen in Cévennes a vast number of persons of either sex who were inspired. I am persuaded that I have seen above four or five hundred in the different assemblies I have

visited. When they were seized by the spirit, they all of them had fits, some of one kind and some of another, more or less; but the movements of the head, the chest, and the stomach were the most common." . . .

Jean Cabanel says: "I have seen many of these persons violently agitated during the inspiration. They had violent convulsive agitations of the whole body, spasmodic movements of the head, the arms, and the chest; they exhorted loudly to repentance, and declared that God would destroy Babylon." . . .

Isabeau Charrus says: "I have seen in Velai a number of persons, of all ages and sexes, fall into paroxysms of most extraordinary convulsive agitations of the body. Whilst these inspired were preaching and exhorting in public, their agitations were not very great, neither did they last very long . . . But when they predicted the judgments of God, and said many other things concerning the future, it mostly happened that they then fell to the ground. The head, the arms, the chest, and the whole body sometimes underwent violent shocks, and a degree of difficulty which they seemed to have in breathing prevented their speaking with facility." . . .

Dubois has remarked, that many of the convulsionists suffered from flatulence and *borborygmus*.*

"All things considered," says Calmeil, "one might with more truth set down to the hysterical type the greater number of the spasmodic and convulsive dis-

* Ouvrage Cité, pp. 20, 22, 35, 95.

orders observable in the theomaniacs of Languedoc and Cévennes.

"In general they gave the name of 'the time of ecstasy' to the period of the convulsive seizure and of improvisation. All the inspired were fully persuaded that the Holy Spirit was introduced into their chest at the moment they felt as interiorly impelled, as they thought, to prophesy. They all expressed themselves as if the Spirit of God had addressed the words to them which they uttered.

"Let us hear how the elderly theomaniacs spoke on this subject. No other fanatics have given evidence like them of the strange succession of intestinal sensations, and of ideas which they experienced, and which seemed at times to constrain them to reason and to act differently from ordinary human beings."

Jean Cavalier said: "Soon after the preaching (of a certain young prophet) was finished, I felt as if my chest had been struck with a blow of a hammer, and it seemed as if the blow had created a burning within me, which ran through all my veins. That put me into a swooning state, which made me fall down. I arose immediately without any pain, and as I raised my heart to God, with an inexpressible emotion, I was struck by a second blow with a redoubled heat. I also redoubled my prayers, only speaking and breathing with deep sighs. Soon after a third blow struck my breast, and set me all on fire . . . I had some seconds of calm, and then I fell suddenly into violent paroxysms of agitation of the head

and body, like those that I have experienced since up to the present time. These violent movements did not last long, but the internal emotion and the burning continued. I was then entirely occupied with regret for my sins . . . The sin of debauchery, to which I was the most given, appeared to me a crime of great magnitude, and put me in such a state that I cannot explain it . . .

"The preacher, however, said another prayer. After he had made them sing the hundredth psalm, he made me stand before him, and addressed some exhortations to me, which I could only receive as coming from some extraordinary source, so much did they strike upon my heart . . .

"On the way, as I was returning to my father's house, I was constantly in prayer, and wrapt in admiration, not only on account of the wonderful things that had happened to me, but all the other marvels that I had seen and heard. I did not cease crying, and the great agitation I was in from time to time caused me frequently to tumble down, or obliged me to stop . . . I was nearly nine months in this state: I was often struck by the hand of God, but my tongue was not loosened. It is true that his grace now consoled me, for I obeyed with pleasure the interior spirit, which caused me always to invoke him . . . I no longer cared about playing and amusing myself; and, above all, I felt a thorough hatred for that pomp that was displayed in the public worship of the Papists . . . I could

not even look at their churches without shuddering.

"At length, after nearly nine months of sobs and agitations, without speech, one Sunday morning, whilst I was at prayer in my father's house, I fell into an extraordinary ecstasy, and God opened my mouth . . . Thrice during three days I was always under the operation of the Spirit, in different degrees, without drinking, eating, or sleeping, and I often spoke with more or less vehemence, according to the nature of the circumstances. My friends were perfectly convinced, from the more than ordinary wonderful state in which they now saw me, and even by the miracle of a fast of three days, after which I neither felt hungry nor thirsty, that it was certain that such wonderful things could only be done by the Sovereign Power" . . . *

Elie Marion said: "When the Spirit of God lays hold of me, I experience a great warmth in my heart and the surrounding parts, which is sometimes preceded by a shuddering of the whole body; at other times I am seized on a sudden without any warning. When I am seized my eyes close upon the spot, and the Spirit causes me agitations of the body, making me sigh frightfully, accompanied with sobs, as if I had a difficulty of breathing. I have even at times very great shocks, but that does not cause me any great uneasiness, or deprive me of my senses. I remain in this state for a quarter of

* Ouvrage Cité, pp. 43, 44, 45.

an hour, more or less, without uttering a word. In fine, I feel that this Spirit puts into my mouth the words it would have me make use of, and they are mostly accompanied with some agitation or extraordinary movements, or at least with a great fear. There are times when the first words which are ready to be pronounced are already present to my ideas, but I am often puzzled to know how the word is to finish that the Spirit has made me commence. It has often happened that thinking I was going to pronounce a word or a sentence, it would be only some simple inarticulate sound, as of the humming of a tune which would follow.* During the whole time of these visits, I always found my spirit wonderfully drawn towards God. I now here protest and declare, in the presence of that Supreme Being, that I have been in no way solicited, or bribed, or seduced by any person whatsoever, or induced by any worldly motives to pronounce any other words than those which the Spirit or angels of God use themselves by mouth. And it is to him I entirely offer up in my ecstasies the government of my tongue, only occupying my mind in thinking of God, and in endeavouring to be attentive to the words pronounced by my mouth. I know that it is then a strange and superior power which makes me speak. I never either meditate or know beforehand the things that I ought to say. Whilst I am

* The spirit rappers should read the preceding passages, and ponder on them.—R. R. M.

speaking my mind pays attention to that which my mouth pronounces, as if it were a discourse held by some other person, but which ordinarily leaves impressions in my memory more or less lively . . . "*

Another relates: "The first day of the year 1703, as the family and some relations had withdrawn into privacy to pass a part of the day in prayer and other private exercises, one of my brothers received an inspiration, and some minutes afterwards I felt all of a sudden a great heat, which seized upon my heart, and which spread interiorly over my whole body. I found myself somewhat oppressed, which made me sigh heavily. I restrained myself as much as it was possible on account of the company. Some minutes afterwards a power which I could no longer resist completely got hold of me and forced me to cry out loudly, interrupted by sobs; I shed torrents of tears. I was then greatly struck with the idea of my frightful sins, which appeared to me to be black and hideous, and of infinite number. I felt them as a burden which crushed down my head, and the more heavily they weighed upon me the more I redoubled my cries and my tears. Nevertheless I felt something consoling within me, which would not suffer my fears to be turned into murmurs; my God chastised me and encouraged me at the same time. . . . ."

* Avertissemens prophétiques d'Elie Marion, l'un des chefs des Protestans qui avaient pris les armes dans les Cévennes, etc. Londres, 1707, 12mo. p. 6.

"I passed the night quietly; but when I awoke, I fell into similar agitations to those, which from that time to the present moment have always seized upon me in my ecstasies, and which were accompanied by frequent sobs. That happened to me three or four times a day during three weeks or a month, and God put it into my heart to employ that time in fasting and prayer. The more I advanced, the greater became my consolation, and in fine, praised be God, I took possession of that happy contentment of mind, which is a great gain. I found myself perfectly changed; those things which I found the most agreeable before my Creator gave me a new heart became disgusting to me, and even dreadful. And in short, it was a new joy to my soul, when after a month of silent ecstasies, if I may so call them, it pleased God to untie my tongue, and to put his word into my mouth. As his Holy Spirit had moulded my body to arouse it from its lethargy to cast down my pride, it was also His will to agitate my tongue and my lips, and to make use of those feeble organs according to his good pleasure. I will not undertake to express, what was my admiration and joy when I felt and heard issue from my mouth a rivulet of words of which my mind was not the author, and which rejoiced my ears. In the first inspiration that God sent me in loosening my tongue, his Holy Spirit spoke to me in these terms: I assure thee, my child, that I destined thee for my glory in the womb of thy mother."*

* Théâtre Sacré des Cévennes, etc pp. 66, 67, 68.

"It is almost impossible that a zealot who makes a constant study of himself, and who observes within him, certain nervous and psychological phenomena which are not common, will not sink more and more deeply into the delusions of his own exclusive ideas. Brueys thought it very extraordinary that a Calvinist prophet should maintain before the judge that he was the Holy Spirit, that the prophets of the assembly of Tauzuc had all taken the title of the Holy Spirit, when writing to the judge of the town of *Saint Pierre*—to claim from him the release of the Protestants confined in the prisons. We ought to look upon this way of acting as the consequence of theomania. We have seen letters of the possessed signed Dagon, Asmodeus, *Charbon d'Impurité*. The theomaniacs of Tauzuc appropriated to themselves the name of their spirit, as the women appropriated to themselves the name of their demon. We need not then be astonished to read such words as these in the declaration of one inspired who had fought at Cévennes,—"When we were told by inspiration, 'march, fear nothing,' or else: 'obey my commands, do such or such things,' nothing could possibly have held us back . . When it was necessary to go to war, I may affirm, that when the Holy Spirit had strengthened me, by these gracious words: 'Apprehend nothing, my child, I will conduct thee, I will assist thee,' I would enter into the midst of battle as if I were clothed in iron, or as if the enemy had merely arms of wool. With the assistance of these delight-

ful words of the Spirit of God, our little boys of twelve years old would strike right and left like valiant men. Those who had neither sabre or gun did wonders with poles and slings, and when a shower of musketry whistled by our ears, and pierced our hats and sleeves, as the Spirit had told us 'fear nothing' this shower of balls did not alarm us any more than if it had been an ordinary small shower of hail."*

"Evidently the *Camisards*, whilst believing themselves subject to the impulse of a divine power as they constantly claimed to be, in most cases, if one might use the expression, were governed only by a powerful delirium.

"The hallucinations of the sight, and the hearing, manifested in the inspired of Cévennes, either in the time of their ecstasy, or during sleep, the same mystical character as their predominant ideas. J. Dubois says: "I have very often seen inspired persons of either sex, who in the time of their ecstasy, had their eyes open, and raised towards heaven, and who then saw armies of angels, and sometimes combats between them and armies of men, and many other things which I do not remember."

"J. Cavalier deposed: that the prophet Compan had declared, during an ecstasy, he saw armies of angels, who assisted before the throne of God, and these thousands of thousands of blessed spirits,

* Théâtre Sacrè des Cevennes, p. 119.

clothed in white robes, chanted canticles of praises and benedictions. He (the prophet Compan) sung melodiously, as if he were with them: and we witnessed all these wonders."

"J. Charras said: Although many people have made a mockery of the chanting of psalms, which has been heard in many places, as if proceeding from the furthermost winds, nevertheless, I will not fail to declare that I have often heard it with my own ears. I have heard, more than twenty times, this divine melody, in open day, and in company of many people, in places at a distance from any house, where there was neither forest or hollow rock, in a word, where it was absolutely impossible that any one could be hid. Every thing had been well considered, and these celestial voices were so sweet, it was quite certain that the voices of our peasants were not capable of forming so delightful a concert. God performed so many other wonders in the midst of us, that those did not appear more incredible than the others, and there is even a circumstance which infallibly marks the prodigy: it is, that all those who ran to hear it, did not hear all; at least, many of them declared they heard nothing, whilst others, at the same time, were charmed with the angelic melody."*

"The task was undertaken of collecting, textually, for the space of many months, the discourses,

* Ouvrage Cité, pp. 33, 36. 103.

and annunciations of warnings, as set forth by the famous prophet of Cévennes, Marion, whilst he was, as he himself declared, *under the inspiration of the Spirit.* These *improvisations,* which form half a volume, shew, without any exception, one characteristic feature, from which it may be seen with what profuseness these mystical ideas multiply, in the brain of theomaniacs, to the exclusion of almost all others. Some of the inspired, in the Cévennes, have delivered as many as seven improvisations in a day, every word in this mass of verbiage—*encombré de paroles,* betrays the pretentious delusions of a sick man who loses his way in a deluge of chimerical conceptions, in forgetting altogether his own personality.

"Elie Marion speaks: My child, thou rejoicest within thyself that my reign approaches; thou dost well. Cry out, then, with a voice of gladness: here is the Lamb who is going to fight! I am not far from thee, I come to strike at your heart, I come to visit thee. Prepare thyself to receive a double grace; in a few days I will discover to thee my mysteries. I would have thee rest on my word. I ask of thee only thy heart; give me thy heart, my child. Bless my name; prepare thyself to receive my benedictions in greater abundance: prepare thyself by fasting and prayer," &c.

"Well, then, my child, I come to declare to thee my wishes . . . I will come, and sooner than the world expects me. Ah! how surprised the people

will be; what troubles will come upon them in many places! I will make myself known. My word will not be attended to; my thunder, my maledictions, and my bolts of vengeance will speak for me, and will make themselves heard, against a people who refuse to acknowledge me as God, since my word will not be listened to. Am not I he, who made the heaven and earth? Have I not formed everything for man? and man forsakes me! I will destroy him; but, my child, I will plant my vine; and in my vineyard I will plant a new plant, and the devil shall not infuse his venom into it; I will guard it, I will be the vine dresser," &c.

"My children, speak boldly, confess my name stoutly: my children, fear not the torrent which overflows, I will dry it up in a few days. Believe in my promises, which are certain and faithful. My voice will thunder from heaven in a few days—terrible voice—which will frighten the fishes of the sea. The earth will tremble, and be terrified; the mountains, I tell thee, will be overthrown, the torrents will become dry, the trees of the forest will fall down, everything will obey the voice of the Omnipotent. The ferocious beasts of the woods will conceal themselves in their hiding places. Who will not tremble, my children, at the dreadful sound of my voice? I will thunder from heaven, and the heavens shall be moved, and the fish in the sea shall die. I will cry aloud, I tell thee, and the whales shall be overwhelmed in the abyss of the sea. Who

shall resist, my child, at the time of these events? I say, who shall not fear my voice when it shall go forth? I say, fear ye, oh sinners! tremble now; here is your Judge irritated; behold his anger enkindled as a great fire in a furnace. Where, oh, my child, are those dumb dogs?" . . .*

"It was said of all the Calvinist prophets that they had *une bouche d'or;* that eloquence escaped from their lips in torrents†—every body was bathed in tears when a prophet fell into ecstasies. They cried even though they did not comprehend the meaning of the words, as the improvisation was sometimes delivered in an unintelligible language."

Le Maréchal de Villars says: "A prophetess, between seven or eight and twenty, was arrested, about eighteen months ago, and taken before M. d'Alais. He interrogated her in the presence of several ecclesiastics. This creature, after having listened to him, answered with a modest air, exhorting him no longer to torment the true children of God; and then spoke to him for a full hour, a strange language, of which he did not understand a word; as we have before seen that the Duke de la Ferté, after he had been drinking, spoke English in the presence of the English, when I heard it observed, 'I know well that he is speaking English, but I do not comprehend one word he says.' That might, indeed, have been difficult to understand, as he (the Marquis) had never

* Avertissement Prophétiques, p. 9.

† The same is said in our days of the spirit rappers.—R. R. M.

known a word of English. That Calvinist girl spoke Greek, and also Hebrew."*

J. Dubois says: "I have seen many persons, of either sex, in ecstasies, who pronounced certain words which the assistants said were in an unknown tongue. Then, those who spoke sometimes explained the signification of what they had been saying."†

"Physicians," observes Calmeil, "are in the habit of hearing the insane in many kinds of delirium, uttering odd words, and void of any meaning; the monomaniacs who say they are possessed by some spirit, think, above all, it gives a great idea of the power of their supernatural influence to create expressions which do not belong to any known idiom; but that mark of folly cannot impose upon any one."‡

The *Camisards* had recourse to repeated fasts to obtain the first *graces* of the Spirit; when once they received the gift of prophesying, they imposed upon themselves long fasts, in thinking they obeyed the Holy Spirit.

E. Marion says: "The night of the 4th of November, being in Loudun, I received a command, by a secret inspiration, to fast three days, to begin on the following day.... I thought that, in order to obey the command, it was only necessary to abstain from food, every day, until evening, during three days, so that the next day, the 5th, I did not

* Vie du Maréchal de Villars, p. 325.

† Théâtre Sacré des Cévennes, p. 33.

‡ De la Folie, tome 2, p. 298.

eat anything till eight o'clock at night. But the 6th, in the morning, whilst I was saying my prayers, I was seized with the Spirit, who commanded me to go exactly three entire days consecutively—that is to say, three times twenty-four hours, as I understood—without either eating or drinking. The very same day, then, I began the fast that was ordered me, and I abstained totally from food of any kind till the 8th. During those three days, I assisted night and morning at the public devout exercises. . . . And I went on as usual, when not at prayer or particular meditations, without feeling during the whole of that time any weakness or desire to eat and drink, nor any alteration in my health. The night of the 8th, which was the last day of my fast, I supped as usual. I fasted again in the same manner, by a secret order of the Spirit, the 23rd, 24th, and the 25th of the same month. The night of the 25th, before eating, I received an inspiration, in which it was told me, amongst other things, that I had again to fast three days consecutively, and that I must begin the next day; I eat a little that night, and then fulfilled the order prescribed to me. During those six days of fast, which was only interrupted by a slight repast, which I took on the evening of the third, I had no desire to eat, and perceived no change in my health. Every day I had inspirations, except on the 23rd, accompanied with fits, which were, at least, as violent as usual. And even on the last day, which was the 28th, I had

three inspirations, which had not happened to me before. I should observe, that these fasts were to precede something extraordinary. The night of the 28th, when finishing this fast, I was warned, by an inspiration, that I had again three more days to fast . . . which happened on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of the following month."*

"Constantly," says Calmeil, "we see monomaniacs laying for themselves the foundation of some order, as if from God, as a pretext for refusing nourishment."

"Many *Camisards*, after their convulsive attacks appeared sleepy, and as if plunged in a kind of lethargy. Sometimes they began to preach whilst they were still extended on the ground; their eyes often remained closed, or, if they were open, they did not seem sensible of the light. It has been thought that the cerebral state of all these inspired Camisards might be compared to that of the somnambulists, who excite, from time to time, the astonishment of the magnetisers.

"The observation of the case of Isabella Vincent, called the Shepherdess of Cret, has, above all others, given occasion for establishing this comparison. Isabella began by becoming one of the number of those inspired, who had settled in the solitudes of Peyra. From the age of seventeen, she was renowned throughout Dauphiné by her frequent fits of inspiration; and she had, according to her own

* Théâtre Sacré des Cévennes, p. 82, 83.

account, inoculated whole districts with the gift of the Holy Spirit. When, after her arrest, they made her appear before the magistrates, she was heard to repeat that they might cause her to perish, but that God would raise up a troop of prophets who would say far more wonderful things than she had done. "Well, then," observes Calmeil, "this curious prophetess, who became a Catholic when she had lost the power of fostering her delirium, because she was compelled to take nourishment, sleep, and rest, was certainly subject to seizures of somnambulism."

"Sometimes she appeared as if buried in a profound lethargy, from which they endeavoured in vain to arouse her. When she was in this state, they might call to her, shake her, beat her, pinch her, burn her, without awaking her from her apparent sleep. Often, whilst seemingly asleep, she commenced singing psalms with a clear and intelligible voice. The motion of her lips was moderate, free from spasms, her gestures measured and becoming. After having sung she was often heard to improvise prayers, recite long passages from the Scriptures, comment on the holy texts, apostrophise the impious, and deliver sermons full of force."

This desire to speak manifested itself even when the shepherdess was in bed. On recovering from the fit, "she did not at all remember anything that had happened, or what she had said, she maintained that she had slept very soundly, and did not seem in the least fatigued, although she had been speak-

ing sometimes three, four, and five hours without intermission; for these ecstasies did not last less. It is true that she spoke during those times, only at intervals, and that the thread of her discourse was never continuous." *

"The analogy which exists between the state that this inspired person fell into, and the state in which most of the somnambulists are to be found who bring on the attacks by artificial means, is very striking.

"But we must own that very few prophets or prophetesses, have shewn any crisis of somnambulism so perfectly as the shepherdess of Cret. The prophetic transport really constitutes a particular pathologic state; that state the *Camisards* knew very well how to distinguish from the true somnambulism. The somnambulists, we are told, speak and gesticulate like persons in a dream. The inspired feel themselves seized by an invisible unknown power, which seizes upon their tongue and their lips, and obliges them to utter things which do not come from themselves. If they sometimes forget what the Spirit has made them say, they still are conscious of the sensations they experienced whilst the Spirit was in possession of their bodies. One may easily conceive the influence that the remembrance of impressions of this nature must exercise upon the condition of their ordinary life, and must necessarily

* Jurieu, Lettres Théologiques, p. 65. Voyez aussi Flechier, Lettres Choisies, t. i. p. 399.

acknowledge that this cause became the principal aliment of the delirium. Such patients cannot be placed in the same category as the somnambulists that we create by artificial means, and whose ideas and determinations during the waking state have scarcely anything in common with the intellectual operations of their minds during their state of somnolency. What will always cause it to be considered, that the Calvinist prophets were monomaniacs is, that the violence of the movements they experienced, at the moment of the rapture or ecstasy, by the instrumentality of physical and moral sensibility, contributed by its repetition to maintain these fanatics in the belief that they were favoured by the presence of the Holy Spirit; and served thus to keep up indefinitely amongst them a fermentation in their ideas and sentiments, that persons with minds properly organised do not experience.

"The convulsions, the falling down, the calcitrations of the Calvinists, the unceasing menaces," continues Calmeil, "which they launched forth against the hydra of religious corruption, were ridiculed by the Catholics: theomania, however, did not fail at different times to creep into families opposed to Protestantism. . . . The example of the *Sieur de Mandagon*, proprietor of a large estate, and Mayor d'Alais, attest that in this kind of contagion the most orthodox Catholics could not always preserve themselves from being afflicted with delirium. M. de Mandagon, a well behaved man in his man-

ners, the father of a large family, undertook at the age of sixty, to make a prophetess abandon her fanaticism. It was soon discovered that the girl who improvised in a strange language was *enceinte.* The converter, after having given himself up to all the charges, announced to whoever would listen to him, and even to his bishop, that it was by the command of God that things had turned out as they had done in regard to the condition of the prophetess, and that the child who should be born would be the true Saviour of the world.*

This gentleman, according to the Maréchal de Villars, with the exception of the folly of believing that God had commanded him to know this inspired person, was very wise and sagacious on all subjects of conversation, like Don Quichotte, he could be reasonable on all except on the one subject of all absorbing interest for him—that of knighthood. M. de Mandagon had been for a time the deputy-intendant of Basville, and the greatest enemy of the Protestants. Judge then the effect produced on the public by the outbreak of this species of monomania of this personage. . . . Thus we also see the famed Fontaine scandalising the whole court by his conversion to Jansenism, and by the oddity of his convulsions. It is related that the three sons of a Catholic farmer began to prophesy in the neighbourhood of Anduze, and that they soon went to the assembly of the fanatics. Whenever Catholics obeyed

* Vie du Maréchal de Villars, p. 325.

the prophetic inspiration, they inveighed against the mass with the same fury as the Calvinists. A young lady of rank, who had been a refugee in London, declared that it was believed for certain at Wigan, that the children of the principal magistrate, who was a great persecutor, had become possessed with the spirit, and that accident had moderated the violence of the father. It was very frequent however to see Protestants fall suddenly in convulsive attacks and in ecstasies of delirium, after mocking their co-religionists. The *Camisards* authorized themselves by these examples, to announce the conversion of all the Catholic priests of the country to the Reformed religion.* . . .

"In summing up the phenomena of this outbreak of Epidemic Theomania," Calmeil observes: "The prophetic madness (of the Camisards) made its appearance in Dauphiné and Vivarais in 1688; it very soon spread itself over a vast number of places, and continued without any interruption among the Calvinists for nearly twenty years.

"It was especially in the course of the year 1689, that the phenomena of theomania excited the greatest astonishment and rose to the height of its violence. The theomaniacs could then be counted by hundreds; men, women, girls, boys, young children, all of them believed they were inspired and imbued with the breath of the Holy Spirit.

"The punishment of fire, the rack, the torture of

* De la Folie, par L. F. Calmeil, tome deuxième, 1845, p. 304.

the *pendaison*, even the massacres performed by armed troops, whose efforts were directed to the extermination of the pretended prophets, the military executions, all the torments that it was possible to invent, to repress the violence of this religious fanaticism, only augmented the force of the evil which they were employed to abate or to suppress.

"During the latter years of the seventeenth century," adds Calmeil, "when some appearance of tranquillity seemed to reign amongst the Camisards, one might still verify the persistence of theomania, each time that the Calvinists persevered in assembling in flocks to listen to the preachers, to sing psalms, and address their vows and their supplications to the Supreme Being."

"When, towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Calvinists rose up in good earnest to constitute small bodies of troops, and to dispute inch by inch the soil which had given them birth, with the king's soldiery, by whom they were confronted, this war of extermination was preceded by the apparition of a sort of swarm of pretended prophets and prophetesses. Towards 1701, at one time two hundred of the inspired who had fallen into the hands of their enemies, were sent to the galleys.

"The madness of the theomaniacs was less talked of during the years 1703 and 1704 than it had been previously; but it is certain that all the armed bands who contended with the royal troops for those two years, never took the field except at the instance

of some inspired celebrities. And it is certain that the words of those prophets were listened to as if they had emanated from the mouth of the Holy Spirit; that the inspirations of these monomaniacs habitually decided either the life or death of the Catholics who fell into the power of the Protestants; and there was often at that time to be seen the same person fulfilling among the *Camisards* the functions of a prophet, and the functions of a commander.

"It was not till the year 1704 that the Maréchal de Villars had the charge of the command in Languedoc; this Maréchal saw, nevertheless, entire cities infested with theomania.

"Fléchier constantly repeats in his letters, dated at the same epoch, that the Catholics were scandalized at the extravagances to which many of the pretended inspired gave themselves up in their presence."

When, in 1704, they had given permission to the far-famed Cavalier to assemble his troops at Calvisson, whilst they were debating with him on the conditions he wished to make in regard to the submission which was to decide the fate of several provinces, the soldiers of Cavalier, every time they met to perform any religious ceremonies, left no doubt on the minds of their assistants as to the persistence of the prophetic delirium amongst the greater number of those fanatics. Everywhere that the troops, who followed the fortunes of Cavalier,

passed in reaching the frontiers, to betake themselves to foreign lands, the population who went out to meet them were surprised at the fantastic nature of their demonstrations, and at the singularity of the language which was employed by those most reputed for inspiration, and especially when they gave themselves up to prayer. Great satisfaction was felt when the chief of the band of Joanny delivered over to the authorities, some time after the departure of Cavalier, eighteen prophets and prophetesses of renown, whose malady might have contributed to foment anew the old disorder of the mind amongst the villagers, whom they had obliged to return to their usual occupation. In fine, the Calvinists in the places of their exile continued to experience convulsive tremblings, ecstasies, hallucinations, to speak as if in spite of themselves, and to talk nonsense on subjects appertaining to religion.

Shaftesbury states, in his frigid tract, "*Letter on Enthusiasm*," that the refugée Calvinist prophets who abounded in England in 1709, would have been glad if the authorities had imprisoned them, if they had hanged them, or broken their bones, as they had done on the borders of the Mediterranean, and thus encouraged their taste for martyrdom by the fire of a new persecution. He praises his countrymen for shewing themselves so *inhuman* in the eyes of those fanatics as to act towards them with toleration and contempt. He expresses a strong desire that to bring them to reason they should be over-

whelmed with ridicule. He applauds the invention of putting a clown on the stage and making him perform paroxysms of convulsions, and thinks this performance is excellent to discredit all the sect of seers. The prophetic enthusiasm then was not extinguished at that epoch amongst the Calvinists, of which Shaftesbury speaks with so much contempt.*

"After 1709, it becomes more and more difficult to follow the steps of the ancient French theomaniacs established amongst foreigners, and no one dared any longer speak of what was passing amongst the vanquished in the provinces where a civil war had so recently existed. It appears, however, certain that the greater part of the Camisards, who openly embraced the religion of the conquerors, lost by degrees the custom of yielding to the prophetic exaltation, and at last gave way to the desire of embracing again their ordinary mode of life."†

Shaftesbury was mistaken in asserting that the fanatics of the Cevennes, who made their way to England, and made an essay of their inspiration antics, were treated there with profound contempt, and were regarded with entire indifference by the authorities.

The author of "Sketches of Imposture, Deception and Credulity," has given the following account of the mission of the Calvinist prophets of the Cevennes in England:—"Passing to the commencement of

* Lord Shaftesbury's Letter on Enthusiasm, 1709.

† De la Folie, par L. F. Calmeil, tome ii. p. 310.

the eighteenth century, we find a group of pretended prophets and miracle-workers, perhaps not less fanatical than those which have just been described, but certainly less noxious. They were Protestants, and were known by the appellation of the French prophets. It was towards the latter end of 1706 that they came to England, from the mountains of the Cevennes, where their countrymen had for a considerable time maintained a contest with the troops of the persecuting Louis XIV. As exiles for conscience sake, they were treated with respect and kindness; but they soon forfeited all claim to respect by the folly or knavery of their conduct. Of this group Elias Marion was the prominent figure; the others acting only subordinate parts. He loudly proclaimed that he was the messenger of Heaven, and was authorised to denounce judgments, and to look into futurity. All kinds of arts were employed by Marion and his associates to excite public attention—sudden droppings down as though death-struck; sighs and groans, and then shrieks and vociferations, on recovering; broken sentences, uttered in unearthly tones; violent contortions; and desperate strugglings with the spirit, followed by submission and repentance; were all brought into play. The number of the believers in their power soon became considerable. In proportion as they gained partisans, they increased their vaunts of miraculous gifts; and at length they boldly announced that they were invested with power to raise

the dead. They even went so far as to try the experiment; and, notwithstanding repeated failures, their besotted followers continued to adhere to them. In vain did the ministers and elders of the French chapel, in the Savoy, declare their pretensions to be blasphemous and dangerous. Far from being deterred by this censure, the prophets grew more strenuous in their exertions to make proselytes, and more daring in their invectives; prophesying daily in the streets to crowds, launching invectives against the ministers of the established church, and predicting heavy judgments on the British metropolis and nation. It was at last thought necessary to put a stop to their career, and they were consequently prosecuted as impostors. They were sentenced to be exposed on a scaffold, at Charing Cross and the Royal Exchange, with a paper declaring their offence; to pay each of them a fine of twenty marks; and to find security for their good behaviour. After a time the sect which they had formed died away, but its ruin was less to be attributed to the punishment of the prophets, or the recovery of reason by their votaries, than by a report which was spread that they were nothing more than the instruments of designing men, who wished to disseminate Socinianism, and destroy orthodoxy."*

* "Sketches of Imposture, Deception, and Credulity." Lond. 1836. p. 42.

CHAPTER XIV.

EPIDEMIC CONVULSIVE THEOMANIA—THE JANSENIST CONVULSIONNAIRES.

1731.

THE Abbé of Saint Cyran, a learned and virtuous ecclesiastic, born in 1581, was the modern reviver of those opinions of grace and human nature, supposed by him to have been held by St. Augustin, and with which he is said to have indoctrinated Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres. However erroneous he may have been in those opinions, he was evidently sincere in the maintenance of them, and his life was blameless.

The great glory of Saint Cyran, says his biographer, "est d'avoir fait du monastere de Port Royal une de ses conquetes et d'avoir eu les Arnaud, les Nicolle, et les Pascal pour disciples." Persecution and imprisonment were the lot of the Abbé of Saint Cyran, and in this case persecution and rigour had their usual effects. They caused the repressed opinions to grow strong and sturdy, and to shoot up lustily under the heavy pressure of Church and State opposition. When the Cardinal Richelieu died, the Abbé of Saint Cyran was

liberated, and shortly after he died in Paris in 1643.*

"Jansenius was born in Holland in 1585. He studied in Louvain with great assiduity, and was eminent not only for his theological knowledge, but for his piety and simplicity of character. He was nominated to the bishopric of Ypres by Philip IV. He imagined, like St. Cyran, he had discovered in St. Augustin's works confirmation of his opinions concerning man's free will, opinions which expanded under his guardianship, and subsequently assumed indistinct shapes, which different beholders found it difficult to give the same account of.

"Jansenius, honoured in his own country, and held in high estimation in France, quite unconscious that he held or had published any unorthodox opinions, died of the plague in 1638. But his works lived, and the controversy they gave rise to, proved the plague of Christendom for nearly a century.

"Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, zeal that was excessive, violence and polemical acerbity, having begot enthusiasm that was intemperate, theological heat and acrimony, Jansenius and his doctrines found able, virulent, vociferous, and not always scrupulous partisans and defenders in Port Royal.

"The services of laymen were enlisted in the quarrel. On the side of the Port-Royalists were

* The Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World, by R. R. Madden, vol. ii. p. 670.

those of the ablest logician, greatest geometrician, and profoundest thinker of his age—Blaise Pascal.

"Such was the temper of the times and the parties in dispute, that Pascal found it necessary to keep those services a profound secret, to quit his usual abode, and conceal himself under a feigned name, in a house in an obscure part of the town, while the Provincial Letters were going through the press.

"The secret, however, was not well kept; but Pascal did not live long enough to afford time for persecution to deal with his services to Port Royal. His short and memorable career was sufficiently long for calumny to assail his character, and even those great thoughts of his on religious subjects, on the face of which the special marks of the Holy Spirit were conspicuously impressed.

"Pascal was simple-minded, humble; he knew the depths of the misery of human nature, and the heights of its greatness. He saw in it, the wreck of a primeval intelligence of wondrous excellence. He loved the Saviour of mankind with his whole heart and soul. He gloried in the Gospel, and considered the championship of its truth an apostolate which he magnified over every other mission in this world; and, finally, the ruling passion of his life was an affectionate solicitude for the poor."

The untimely death of Pascal was a calamity to Christendom. The great Arnauld (Antoine), born in 1612, was one of the chief combatants in that

fierce battle that distracted France, scandalized the laity, and damaged the clergy concerning *grace* and *nature*, and the five propositions attributed to Jansenius, which involved differences of opinion, which have been discussed in no very christian spirit for so long a period.

Arnauld died in 1694, at the age of eighty-two, in exile, in an unknown retreat, in obscurity, divested of fortune, without even a domestic, but unbroken by adversity.

Nicole, one of the colleagues of Arnauld, the translator into Latin, under the name of Wendrock, of Pascal's "Provincial Letters," was born in 1625. He alternately warred on the Calvinists and Jesuits. Victory remained with the latter, and, like Arnauld, Nicole had eventually to become a fugitive. He died at the age of seventy in 1695.

Notwithstanding the condemnation of the five propositions, the persecution of the Port Royalists, the downfall of their establishment, and the triumphant issue of the war made on them—the favourable opinion which tolerant and intelligent people formed of the literary labours of the Port-Royalists and their adherents, outlived Arnauld, Nicole, and Pascal.

The sepulchre of a Port-Royalist became a popular shrine in 1727. The deacon Francois de Paris, a man of good position and ample means, who had abandoned both for a religious life, and became renowned for his piety, humility, and above all, his charity, died in 1727, at the age of thirty-seven

years, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Medard, in Paris. He had been one of the adherents of the four Jansenist prelates, who had appealed against the bull "Unigenitus," and had renewed that appeal in 1720. His life was passed in rigorous self-denial, seclusion, works of mercy, and in manual labour for the poor. With the enemies of the Jansenists he was a fanatic, with the adherents of the Jesuits a fool, and with the Jansenists and the humbler classes in general a saint.

A tomb was erected over his grave; and there many of the poor whom he had succoured, some of the rich whom he had edified, a great number of women, in sickness or in sorrow, by whom he was venerated for the sanctity of his life, came habitually to pray; and no small concourse of persons professing Jansenist opinions, it must be added, came there, it is to be feared, to promote the views and interests of their sect.

The tomb of the deacon Francois became the scene of wonderful cures, and some very remarkable conversions, which were reputed miraculous. People who came there, especially afflicted with nervous disorders, appear to have been affected in a singular manner, some with cataleptic, others with hysteric and convulsive symptoms.

The convulsionnaires exhibited not only occasionally but frequently, all the phenomena which are ascribed by mesmerists to animal magnetism, somnambulism, ecstasies, raptures, insensibility to pain, rigidity of muscles, submission of the will and the

senses to the power of the volition of another person, connected in some way with the dominant idea which possessed their minds at the time of falling into the trance. Increased subtilty of thought, quickness of perception, heightened powers of imagination, a vivid energizing influence, fraught with enthusiasm and even eloquence; claims to clairvoyance, to communion with another world, to "spirit life;" all these phenomena were to be found too, though not all in the same individual, in occasional instances in this epidemic of convulsive theomania.

As usual, in similar cases, the greater number of persons who were brought to the cemetery of St. Medard for the cure of bodily diseases, were sick people of debilitated constitutions, chiefly females labouring under epilepsy, neuralgia, convulsions, permanent contraction of muscles, chronic forms of rheumatism and sciatica, and monomania with hallucinations of various kinds.

Many of the *convulsionnaires* who were accounted cured, Calmeil says, it is to be presumed, after they had maintained their nervous systems and their minds in a state of constant excitation, ended by sinking under acute cerebral diseases. And one of the phenomena worthy of notice, but inexplicable to physicians, which he has recorded, is that in the case of paralytic persons, the limbs which were convulsed, were generally those of the side which was paralyzed.

Dr. Douglas, the learned bishop of Salisbury, who had carefully investigated the subject of these mar-

vellous occurrences at the tomb of the deacon Francois, says: "Whoever attentively weighs the evidence urged in support of some of them, must own that few matters of fact ever were confirmed by more unexceptionable testimony. They were performed openly in the sight of the whole world; in the heart of one of the greatest cities in the universe; on persons whom every body could see and examine; whose diseases could not be counterfeited, because we had the certificates of the most eminent physicians who had previously attended or examined them; and whose recovery every inhabitant of the city of Paris could satisfy himself of, because they lived on the spot. And that the facts were examined into with all the art and address of the ruling part of the clergy, backed by the civil magistrate, is too notorious to admit of a dispute; as it is, also, that some of them could stand the examination, and remained undetected."

In the middle of 1731, the first rumour got abroad of a sick man who had visited the place of sepulchre of the venerated deacon Paris having been seized with convulsions of an unusual kind while stretched on the deacon's tomb. The love of the marvellous seized on the Parisians: there was a dearth of stirring incidents and exciting subjects of discussion in social circles: the Jansenists wanted support from the other world, and credit in this, for a saint who had been of their way of thinking in the matter of the Bull *unigenitus*.

Thousands flocked to the tomb of the deacon Paris. It is impossible to read the relations of the various cures said to be effected at his tomb without being convinced many of them were marvellous in a high degree. How far the force of imagination—the force of faith—the force of some occult influence on the nervous system contributed to those singular results it is impossible to say. That there were great scandals, obvious frauds and impositions, infamous and impious proceedings mixed up with the preceding results there can be no doubt. It was necessary to enter briefly into the subject of the controversy between the Jansenists and their opponents, and the career of those who had immediately preceded the deacon Paris, to comprehend the accounts that have been given of "The French Convulsionnaires."

"Till the month of August, 1731," says Picart, "the wonders wrought at the burying-place of the deacon Paris, were not accompanied with any considerable difference from those mentioned in Scripture or ecclesiastical history. Those who were afflicted with sickness, and begged the holy deacon's intercession, were laid upon or under his tomb-stone, which was raised from the ground, and were cured. But in August, 1731, God was pleased to work his miracles in a different manner; violent pains, agitations of the body, extraordinary convulsions, were the means by which the sick were healed, not all at once, but gradually. This happened to one Abbé

Becheran, to Chevalier Follard, an ancient officer in the army, and to several others. The number of people afflicted with convulsions increased so fast, and the consequences of the meetings at the tomb appeared, or were represented to the King, so dangerous, that on the 27th of January, 1732, he issued an order to shut up the little churchyard belonging to St. Medard's parish, where M. de Paris was buried, and to open it only when necessary for burials. Some weeks afterwards, Abbé Becheran was taken up and confined at St. Lazare, and set again at liberty about three months after in June. But the miracles and convulsions did not cease upon these oppositions; on the contrary, they daily spread further, and gained ground.

Towards the end of the year 1732, those who were in convulsions began to foretel what was to happen, to discover secrets, to make speeches, pathetical exhortations, sublime prayers; even those who at other times were wholly unable to perform any such things.*

Among the visitors to the tomb of the Deacon Paris was one remarkable person, Louis Carrè de Montgeron, born in Paris in 1686. He obtained at an early age a public office, Maitre des Requetes, and purchased the post of Conseiller au Parlement, in which he acquired some reputation by his talents and address.

By his own account he fell into incredulity in

* Picard's Religious Ceremonies.

religious matters, and for many years led a life of pleasure; at length he became entirely sceptical and vicious in his mode of life. The rumours of the extraordinary cures effected at the tomb of the Deacon Paris first excited his curiosity, and then ridicule, but eventually they led him to serious reflection on religious subjects and on his own condition. He determined to make a personal inquiry into the circumstances that were taking place in the cemetery of St. Medard, and to examine with critical severity the alleged miracles operated at the tomb of the Deacon Paris. His investigations, he stated, were soon enlightened by such irresistible evidences of the bulk of those cures, and other phenomena connected with them, that he was compelled to believe the power was supernatural by which they were effected; and from a sceptic all at once he became a sincere and fervent Christian, and from a mocker of the Deacon and his sect an apostle of the latter. He soon became a martyr of it. He collected all the evidence that appeared to him worthy of credit relating to the occurrences that had taken place, and published them in a quarto volume in 1737, which he presented to the King, and was rewarded for his pains by being immediately after consigned to the Bastile.

The volume he presented to the King was entitled "*La verité des Miracles operès par l'intercession de M. Paris,*" &c. The harsh treatment he met with had only the effect of stimulating his zeal

to renewed labours. In 1747 he published two more volumes on the subject of the miracles of M. Paris. After some months imprisonment in the Bastile, he was transferred to a Benedictine abbey in the diocese of Avignon, and from thence to Vivieres. After some time he was sent to the citadel of Valence, where he died in 1754. He left a manuscript which he composed in prison, entitled, "Contre les Incredules." *.

Montgeron's first volume was refuted by an anonymous writer in 1749, and by La Taste, a celebrated Benedictine of Bordeaux, who was subsequently nominated to the bishopric of Bethlem. The writings of La Taste against the sect of the Convulsionnaires, and their pretended miracles, are contained in his "Lettres Theologiques," published in 1739-40. La Taste believed that many of the phenomena which were observed at the tomb of Paris were the results of diabolical agency.

Montgeron's fanatical opinions and absurd conclusions, as to the emanations of a divine influence from the remains of the deceased Jansenist deacon, however virtuous a man he may have been, and as to the advancement of religion by those means, are sufficiently obvious to render any laboured refutation of them *now* quite unnecessary. Those opinions and conclusions were no doubt eagerly caught at by the Jansenists, at the period of their decline and waning influence, in support of their sect. But far from

* Dict. Nouv. Hist. 1779.

rendering them any real service they tended very much to augment their disrepute and to accelerate their ruin.

But the facts which Montgeron collected, the statements of *Convulsionnaires* which he took from their own lips, or had communicated to him, written by them, descriptive of the feelings they experienced, the sufferings they endured, the extraordinary effects produced by their disorder, and the strange occurrences he himself witnessed, these are valuable and of far more importance than any deductions of his from those observations. And the fact of his being an enthusiast, if he was a sincere one, does not militate against his evidence: it would militate against his judgment, however sincere he might be, for his impressions would necessarily be influenced by the fanaticism which enthusiasts are likely to fall into.

But, though deficient in judgment, Montgeron was not wanting in ordinary intelligence—far from it: neither is there any reason to doubt his sincerity, or his truthfulness as a witness, and his integrity as a collector and reporter of evidence.

Carré de Montgeron, in "La Verité des Miracles," says: "Amongst the number of persons suddenly afflicted with convulsions, accompanied with miracles, were some very respectable persons in every sense of the term, as I will here prove. But it must be allowed, that in general God has chosen the convulsionists from the common people; that young

children, principally girls, have composed the greater part; that the most of them up to that time had lived in ignorance and obscurity, that many of them were deformed by nature, that there were those amongst them, who, out of their supernatural condition appeared even fools." *

Jeanne Thènard, aged thirty, went to the grave of Paris upon All Saints Day, in 1731. "She was immediately seized with most violent convulsions. Her body was shot up into the air with great force, she was thus raised repeatedly when she had been lying down: she was agitated so violently that several persons who were holding her in order to prevent her striking herself against the marble could with difficulty restrain her movements; and she fatigued them to that degree that they were bathed in perspiration, and were obliged constantly to relieve one another . . . The first day the convulsions only broke out when she placed herself upon the tomb; afterwards she remained lying on the ground till night, and during that time she tired out a number of persons who had the charity to lend her their assistance. . . ."†

Towards the middle of December, 1734, says the girl Fourcroy, "I had desired to be conducted to the tomb of Paris, to make an act of thanksgiving. . . . . I was struck with terror (on entering the

* Carré de Montgeron, "La Veritè des Miracles," &c. in 4to. 1737, tome 2. p. 58.

† Carré de Montgeron, t. ii. p. 36.

cemetery of St. Medard) at the sound of fearful cries and a kind of howling that some of the convulsionists were making in the cemetery, and I thought of going away without approaching the tomb of the Deacon; but the person who accompanied me having encouraged me, I sat down on the tomb. . . . After remaining there about a quarter of an hour in prayer, some movements with which I was seized warned all who were near me that I was threatened with convulsions. At the word convulsion, calling to mind the cries that I had heard under ground when I arrived, I was so much alarmed that I gave some money to the porter to make a way out for me that I might retire; and the apprehension of having convulsive movements gave me strength that was not common to me, to enable me to leave the cemetery very quickly. . . . Notwithstanding, on the night of the 20th of March, 1732, finding myself so ill as to consider I was at the point of rendering up my soul, the fear of death which I thought was so near prevailed over the fear of convulsions, and I begged them to go and bring me some of the earth from the tomb of the Deacon Paris, to put into the wine which from time to time they made me take a few drops of. The 21st, at midnight, they made me take some wine, into which they had put some of the earth, and I began prayers for a Novena. Almost at the same moment I experienced a great shivering, and soon after a violent agitation in all the members, which caused me to fling my body up

into the air, and which gave me a strength that I had never before felt; so much so, that several persons together could with great difficulty hold me. In the course of these violent movements, which were truly convulsions, I lost all recollection. As soon as they were over and I had recovered my senses, I felt a tranquillity and an interior peace that I had never before experienced, and which it would be exceedingly difficult to explain, though I have since then very frequently felt it after my convulsive fits."*

A woman of intelligence, of the name of Geoffroy, who had been a *convulsionnaire*, described in the following terms her sensations to Carrè de Montgeron, during the hysterical paroxysms she suffered at the tomb of the Deacon Paris. Her paroxysms began with a numbness of the nerves, followed by convulsions of all the members. "The convulsive movements I had without losing my recollection, forced me to strike with my feet against the ground or the tomb when I was laid on it. I could not at all prevent these movements. Sometimes my head shook and turned round for a long time; sometimes my arms became perfectly rigid. At other times they were thrown about from side to side, and my body was often turned round as if on a pivot. . . . . The persons who held me were obliged to follow the movements of the convulsions. . . . . The pain I

* Ibid, t. ii. p. 1, &c. Suite de l'observation de la fille Fourcroy.

suffered was beyond what I could express; it made me cry out at times with a shrill voice, and then again in a plaintive tone. . . . . It sometimes happened the burial place being crowded with sick people when I arrived, and there being no room for me, they held me over the tomb by a sash tied round the waist. As I was then very much constrained, and in a place too confined to allow of their following my convulsive motions, I suffered more than usual, as my knees beat against the marble beneath with great violence. . . . The same movements took place at home, with this difference, that they were not so intense. When I was alone in my room I laid down on the floor at a distance from the fire, for fear of accidents, as soon as I felt the heaviness that preceded the convulsions, and it is thus that I frequently suffered from them when alone without assistance from any one. . . . .

"I have been assured that, in the midst of the convulsions—when I lost all recollection—my eyes were completely turned, and all the movements of which I have spoken above, were much more violent. I always felt some relief after the fits, and this alleviation was invariably most sensible when the attacks were most violent."*

La Taste gives the following details of another convulsionnaire:—"The day of St. Marcel, says the girl Bridan, I thought to make an effort to approach the tomb, which I had not been able

* Carré de Montgeron, t. 3. p. 57.

to do since my first novena, on account of the great crowd. I leant down my head on the tomb for a quarter of an hour, to say my prayers there. . . At that moment I was seized with a trembling—I could not raise myself up; two persons were obliged to take me by the arms, to place me in a chair, where I lost all remembrance. When I came to myself, I had such frightful convulsions that it required three or four persons to hold me . . I continued, for twenty-two days, to go every day to the tomb, and each time I experienced the same convulsions as at first, sometimes even much stronger, and in greater number. In the height of the fit I lost all knowledge, which returned as soon as it had passed off. I had them, also, at the house, whenever I drank the water into which they had thrown some of the earth from the tomb of M. Paris, with this difference, that they were not so violent, and that they did not deprive me of reason . . . I suffered great pain when I retained my senses; but, almost as soon as these convulsions ceased, my pains, also, were at an end. . . At times, it seemed as if my legs were being torn, then again, as if my head was being opened; it appeared to me, sometimes, that my members were dragged, as it were, by four horses."* With all these convulsionists, says Calmeil, the derangement of that portion of the nervous system which is charged with the stimulation of the muscular fibres, was preceded by

* D. La Taste. Lettre Théologique, etc. t. 2. p. 1272.

mental excitation. The flow of impressions to the brain, the tumultuous emotions, the effervescence of sentiments and of ideas, which bore the character of theomania, prepared the way for the explosion of these spasmodic phenomena.

On the 27th of August, 1731, Montgeron relates, they conducted to the cemetery of Saint Médard, a young girl, deaf and dumb from her birth. As soon as she was placed on the tomb, she fell into most terrible convulsions, accompanied with a great perspiration, and manifested, by her gestures, that she was suffering principally in her head, in the throat, and the ears. After the attack, she remained as if dead, and they were obliged to remove her from the tomb. Having, in some degree, recovered her senses, she gave them to understand, by signs, that she wished to be placed again on the tomb, which was accordingly done. The convulsions immediately recommenced with more violence than before, and they carried her away a second time, to enable her to breathe. They yielded again to the desire she evinced, to be brought back to the tomb-stone of the deacon; the convulsions returned, and they were forced to carry away the patient to her own home, where she remained until nine o'clock at night, violently agitated with convulsive movements.

The 28th of August, 1731, she made a second visit to the sepulchre of the Deacon Paris, and the result was a return of the convulsions, which were only allayed at the end of the day. The 29th and

the 30th of August, after a kind of swooning, the young invalid found she was able to hear and speak, but, it is said, without understanding the sense of the words which struck upon her ear.*

"In this case, which is quite an exception," says Calmeil, "the shock of the affected nerves, which were thus acted on, must have been caused by the species of commotion which the sight of the convulsionists, who were lying on the ground, produced on the sensorium of this girl, and by the sudden revolution in her ideas that so unexpected a spectacle must have occasioned in the mind of this poor sick creature. It would have been far more difficult to have occasioned these convulsive effects, if the deaf mute had also been deprived of her sight; for to create this species of critical movement, it was absolutely necessary to make apparent to the mind, or rather to bring to the very centre of the brain those impressions which were capable of modifying the condition of the habitual functions."

"In another case the hysterical character is strongly marked in the convulsive malady which preceded the cure of the girl Giroux, which theologians believed to be demoniacal. This girl had also several times followed an hallucination, which caused her to say that she heard a voice in the interior of her chest."

Don La Taste, in his work already cited, says: "The 20th of August, 1732 (say the parents of this

* Montgeron, Ouvrage Cité, t. ii. p. 10, *et suiv.*

convulsionist), about eleven o'clock at night, our daughter being in convulsions, and held by a person then present, that person being unable any longer to support her in consequence of the violence of the fits, threw her upon our bed. The convulsions were then so strong, and accompanied with such loud cries (a thing that had not before happened), that all the assistants were terrified and greatly frightened: her body was doubled up again and again; her eyes became sparkling and red as blood. We were all around the bed, and after some minutes passed in this terrible state, we heard her pronounce with a most extraordinary clear and piercing voice these words, 'I am cured!' At that moment the convulsions ceased, and she sat up in the bed. Having come to herself again, and recovered her perfect senses, she again said to us quietly, 'Ah! I am cured!' We were all filled with joy, and we asked her with great eagerness, what proof she had that she was cured? 'I felt all at once,' she replied, 'dreadful pains in my stomach, and as if a ball had gone up into my throat, and descended again into my stomach, where it burst with such violence, that I thought my body would be rent in two; and since it burst, I heard, as it were within me, a strong piercing voice, which repeated two or three times, 'I am cured;' which very much surprised me.'"*

The same author continues, that "it often happened this sick person rolled herself on the pavement, and

* Don La Taste, Ouvrage Cité, t. ii. p. 967.

caused herself to be dragged by the head and the feet on the ground, insisted upon being carried on a man's shoulders for ten hours consecutively, and would get into a rage when they refused her this singular pleasure. These extravagances of a will which was become capricious and incapable of resisting the suggestions of the invalid, have been noticed in almost all the Jansenist convulsionists.

"The 20th of September, 1734, the widow Thévenet, hoping to rid herself altogether of a deafness, determined to drink—and did drink—some water having some particles of earth mixed with it from the grave of Paris; the same day she moistened her ear with a piece of linen impregnated with the same water, and began a novena in honour of the deceased deacon.

"The 21st of September, she felt herself struck with terror at the sight of three books of prayer which were brought to her by a convulsionist.

"The 29th, she commenced a second novena by invoking Paris; the following nights she was agitated, sensibly affected, and became a prey to a sudden oppression of the heart, and an extraordinary fear.

"The 1st of October, the nervous system became more disturbed; shiverings were added to the moral anxiety; the patient announced that things seemed to pass within her which were altogether strange.

"The 2d of October, during the mass she was at, she perceived, through her whole frame, an unde-

finable perturbation which impelled her to go out of doors, when her head began to move violently without her will, participating in this violent action. As soon as they carried her to her room, she began, in spite of herself, to move about her arms and her legs with great violence, and every part that was susceptible of motion, and gave herself hard blows on the lower extremities. A woman who tried to hold her was so affected at the sight of this spectacle, that she experienced herself a long nervous shivering. A brother of the widow Thévenet, canon of Corbeil, exhausted himself ineffectually in endeavouring to prevent his sister beating herself. The expression of the features became wolfish, her eyes were turned, she repeated that she had the happiness of being a convulsionist, that she must thank God for that favour; and the blows she gave herself succeeded each other very rapidly.

"At times she made violent leaps, as if to raise herself up to the ceiling; the disorder of her dress proved that she was insensible to all feelings of modesty; the words which she pronounced with rapidity, were unintelligible, and did not belong to any known language.

"They tried to make her take some nourishment; she yielded to the desire to speak, and put herself in violent agitation, and made a thousand ridiculous contortions. She summoned in a familiar way her friends and neighbours, struck them on the limbs, looked at them with a bewildered air, began anew to

give them blows, and continued to shew signs of an alarming cerebral excitement.

"They decided upon putting her into bed; she begun to recite prayers that were much in use amongst the convulsionists of Saint Médard, and fell into convulsive fits, which made her friends think that she raised herself up into the air with a bound from her bed, together with the covering which was on it.*

"About five o'clock the same evening, Manor, a convulsionist, (a servant of the convulsionists Girard and Plessel), arrived at Miss Thévenet's, and they embraced with great joy . . . Manor, going on her knees, repeated a prayer to Paris . . . during which time Madame Thévenet again became more furious; she got out of bed and began to leap, raising herself towards the ceiling. Afterwards she made various contortions of the head and arms."†

Other extraordinary gestures and movements are described which it is unnecessary to enter into.

This woman was at length reduced to the last extremity by her sufferings. She appeared at the point of death, and yet she uttered exclamations of joy, declaring herself a convulsionnaire and one of the elect.

New convulsive movements ensued, she bounded from her bed to the height of three feet. A clergyman, who was present, said, "These were the mysteries of Satan;" whereupon the widow Thévenet fell into the most terrible convulsive attacks.

* Calmeil, Des Gran. Epidem. de Del. t. 2. p. 327.

† Don La Taste, t. i. p. 649.

Towards mid-day she presented all the signs of ecstasy, she recited certain propositions of the book of Quesnel, and discoursed on *La Grace Triomphante.* Two days later, Canon Marriette, her brother, having spoken to her on the frightful state in which she had been, she came to herself entirely, and anxiously desired to have her director; and he had no sooner come than she delivered up to her brother a portrait of the Deacon Paris, two packets of earth from his tomb, a morsel of wood of his bed, which things were thrown into the fire.

Then, says La Taste, she made a profession of faith in the Catholic Church . . . And she experienced no further agitation, her intellect remaining sound.*

Calmeil calls this case of Madame Thévenet, one of the most interesting of all which have been recorded of the victims of theomania connected with the history of St. Medard.

We are told by Montgeron, that "the conversion of the Secretary of State of Louis XV. Mons. Fontaine to Jansenism was made known by a most curious manifestation of muscular agitation. This person was very much opposed, as were all the Court, to the cause of the Jansenist appellants: being in Paris, at the beginning of 1733, in a house, where he had been invited to dine with a large company, he felt himself all at once compelled by an invisible power to turn round and round on one foot with prodigious swiftness, without being able to pre-

* Ibid. p. 655.

vent himself; which gyrations lasted upwards of an hour without a moment's intermission. From the first moment of this singular convulsion, an instinct which came from above, caused him to beg that they would give him a book of prayer as quickly as possible. The one which came first to hand, and which they presented to him, was a volume of the Moral Reflexions of Father Quesnel, and although Fontaine did not cease turning round with a dazzling rapidity, he read aloud from that book as long as the convulsions lasted.*

"These convulsions continued to recur at intervals during six months or more, they took place regularly at a stated period twice a day; and they only ceased to attack Fontaine, the 6th of August, 1733, after he had finished to read, whilst still turning round with great violence, the eight volumes of the Reflexions of Father Quesnel on the New Testament, which Fontaine was in the habit of doing when desirous of elevating his heart to God.

"This prevailing convulsive movement began every morning precisely at nine o'clock, and lasted an hour and a half or two hours at a time. That in the afternoon commenced at three o'clock, and continued as long as the one in the morning. Every day M. Fontaine found on rising so great a weakness in the legs that he was scarcely able to stand; which lasted till nine o'clock, when the spinning convulsion began. . . . At that time his body rested

* Carré de Montgeron, t. 2. p. 12, et 13.

on one leg, which during the hour and a half or two hours, that the turning lasted, never quitted the centre where it had been placed, whilst the other leg made a circle with an inconceivable rapidity, being generally in the air, though sometimes it rested very lightly on the ground. The spinning round of the whole body was effected with such wonderful quickness, that a great number of persons have counted as many as sixty turns in the course of a minute. . . .

"After the spinning convulsion of the morning was at an end, Fontaine felt himself better able to stand; but his legs only recovered their vigour in the afternoon, and then he felt strong, and in perfect health till the following morning."* When this controlling influence, which obliged Fontaine to turn round on one foot, began to act upon him, they put in his hands that book of Quesnel, wherein many propositions had incurred the censure of the head of the Church.

"The effect that the instinct of this convulsion made upon his mind (according to Carré de Montgeron), was to change all his sentiments with regard to the appeal . . . (against the bull *Unigenitus*) to make him regard the Moral Reflections (of Father Quesnel), as a source of light, of blessings, of graces, to detach him completely from the things of the world, to cause him to give up his commission, to make him give considerable alms, to strip himself of

* Montgeron, t. 2. p. 13.

every thing and reduce himself to a state of poverty, to live in seclusion, humiliation and the most austere penance." *

Fontaine became gradually subject to ecstasies and visions. He prophesied the return of Elijah to this earth, the conversion of all infidels, the end of all abuses in church and state. He then commenced a gradual scale of austerities, carrying the mortification of fasting to a most extraordinary extent.†

"At length (says Montgeron) he thought the time of executing a great project of fasting was come (the 20th of April), but he deceived himself; this fast, which lasted during eighteen days, was only a preparation for a greater undertaking. . . .

"Not only was Fontaine deprived of all food and drink during those eighteen days, but he was employed every day at manual labour . . . which was only interrupted for the purpose of reciting his office at the canonical hours; and, moreover, he passed almost the whole night in prayer and in reciting psalms till two o'clock in the morning, when he said the matins with the companion who was with him in retreat. . . .

"But what exhausted him the most was a very strange gargle, which the instinct of his convulsions had obliged him to use, from the fifth day of his fast, composed sometimes of vinegar very strong and pure, which took the skin off his mouth and

* Montgeron, ibid. † Calmeil, t. 2. p. 333.

tongue, and which he was notwithstanding obliged to continue almost without cessation day and night, till the eighteenth day of this fast, when he had hardly a breath in him. . . .

"So much privation and fatigue, joined to a total abstinence from food and drink, attenuated him to such a degree, that from the 4th of May, being the fifteenth day of his fast, he became fearfully thin; already, the fever which burned within him had consumed the little flesh which remained. He was a mere skeleton covered with a parched or livid skin, which being glued to his bones shewed his frame. He might easily have been taken for one of those Egyptian mummies which are only preserved by being dried up. . . .

"From that day he visibly declined; however, on the 5th of May, he wished, according to his usual custom, to go to mass at four o'clock, as he had done the day before, but he was compelled to be satisfied with the desire to do so. . . .

"He was no longer able to go out. He could even with difficulty keep on his legs. He felt worse than he had done, up to that time, but without being frightened at the terrible state he was in. 'I am (said he) a spider dried up, my life rests only on a thread.' In effect, from that time, and more especially the 6th of May, the seventeenth day of his fast, he appeared at the last extremity. . . ."*

* C. de Montgeron, Ouvrage Cité, t. ii. pp. 78-80.

It is questionable if the records of fanaticism furnish a more lamentable instance of fatuity and perversion of religious sentiments than the preceding account of the self-inflicted torments and suicidal practices of this unfortunate zealot, Mons. Fontaine, a gentleman, be it remembered, of rank, fortune, and education, of rationality on every other subject but that of religion.

It appears almost incredible that a man not wholly deprived of his senses, who had reduced himself to the last extremity as he had done, by total abstinence from food and drink for a period of eighteen days, should no sooner be partially restored by medical care to some degree of health and strength, than that he should commence a new martyrdom of mortification by an abstinence from all nutriment, in point of duration far exceeding the severity of the former. Yet he not only commenced this undertaking but he executed it. Calmeil's observations on this subject are well worthy of attention.

"Montgeron, in seeking to edify us by the recital of the exploits of Fontaine, presents us unwittingly with a faithful picture, a description exact as it is frightful, of the lamentable delirium which proceeds from these inspirations (of fanaticism), and which impresses too often at the will of certain monomaniacs, a degree of resistance, which seems to surpass the forces and power of human nature.

"How often does it happen to us in lunatic asylums,

to have to contend frequently, almost hopelessly, with the insane who take their stand on an order they have received from the Almighty to endure all the agonies of hunger and thirst, and who would suffer themselves to be cut in pieces rather than depart from their fatal resolution. Fontaine, in depriving himself of food, was not acted on by any erroneousness of perception. But he figured to himself that he was the emblem of the church on earth: and as he had read in holy Scripture that the church should not fail, however weakened it might be, he argued that he could expose himself to the very last extremity and debilitation without danger to life. Hence he would have undermined his constitution by excessive sufferings and privations rather than abridge even by a second the period which he had appointed for his fasts.

"We have all observed (in lunatic asylums) after prolonged abstinences, in the case of melancholy patients who had been neglected in their families or had not received proper care, restorations, *des quasi resurrections*, as unexpected as the restoration of Fontaine at the conclusion of his first fast (of eighteen days).

"But it cannot be denied, notwithstanding, that the great majority of the insane who obstinately refuse for a considerable time—*pendant aussi long temps*—nutriment necessary to existence, generally end by sinking. I should not then be indisposed to imagine that the conviction of religious enthusiasm

proved serviceable to the life of Fontaine, and that the prolongation of fasting might not have such immediate ill effects on those labouring under theomania as it would have on men of sound mind, on those, for instance, who regard things across the prism of a cold, calculating reason."*

"The following day, the 7th of May, the apparently dying man consented to receive the visit and the care of a physician; the use of a simple broth was followed by a frightful diarrhœa: the legs became inflamed, the face pale and bloated. Three weeks had hardly passed away, however, and the strength of Fontaine had scarcely begun to be re-established, when he put into execution his fast of forty days, during which time he ceased not, however, to appease thirst: *toutefois, il ne cessa jamais de satisfaire le besoin de la soif.*"†

Montgeron informs us: "There is nothing which the *convulsionnaires* did not undertake to mortify themselves, to break down and to enfeeble their bodies. The most of those from the time they had convulsions, hardly made use of a bed; they laid down with their clothes on winter and summer, with only one covering, some lying on planks, and others on the bare ground, others on logs of wood, and some of them on bars of irons. . . ."

"There are even some girls who give themselves violent blows with stones, exactly on that part

* Calmeil, "De la Folie," &c. t. ii. p. 339.

† Ibid. p. 80.

of their body where instruments of penance had been placed, in such a way that all the points (of iron) could not fail to enter their flesh. It is true that it is during the time of the convulsions that they inflict on themselves these injuries; but they do not, however, feel the less in their natural state, the severity of pain caused by the wounds made by those sharp points, which had entered the flesh and often occasioned ulceration."*

Montgeron says, in speaking of the ordinary ecstasies of the convulsionnaires: "They generally see the persons present; they speak to them, and they even sometimes hear their replies, though at the same time their mind appears almost entirely absorbed in the contemplation of objects which a superior power causes them to see."†

Calmeil observes, that in these fits of imperfect ecstasy, as he designates them, and as they have been described by Montgeron, "the convulsionnaires are struck on a sudden with the aspect of some unforeseen object, the sight of which ordinarily affords them the greatest internal satisfaction. They lift their eyes and their hands eagerly on high: they leap up towards heaven; they seem to wish to fly there. To see them afterwards absorbed in profound contemplation, one would say they were admiring celestial beauties . . . Their face becomes animated with a lively and brilliant fire, and their eyes, which

* Montgeron, t. ii. p. 77.

† Ibid. t. ii. p. 86.

cannot be made to close as long as the ecstasy continues, remain always immoveable, open, and fixed upon whatever object occupies their thoughts. They are in a manner transfigured; they appear perfectly unlike themselves. Those even, who out of that state have something in them low and repulsive, change so much that they could scarcely be recognised; and their brightness then has nothing in it that does not edify, nothing which does not inspire piety; nothing which does not bring one to think of God . . . This supernatural state," continues Montgeron, "represents vividly, in the person who is in it, a soul disengaged from all that is earthly and fleeting; a soul which aspires only to the supreme good—a soul that, one might say, already enjoys it. Neither is one tired in contemplating so edifying a spectacle: it appears as if some rays of sublime felicity, that people imagine they see in the features of the convulsionnaire, is reflected back upon the astonished spectators."*

It is well worthy of observation, that the Jansenist convulsionnaires of St. Medard, in their ecstasies, like the Protestant Camisards of the Cévennes, preached, prophesied, and delivered polemical and controversial improvisations in a strain of remarkable exaltation of sentiment, and in terms of energy and enthusiasm and of eloquence, which were wholly foreign to their customary modes of expression. Their features were lit up with enthusiasm; their

* C. de Montgeron, t. ii. p. 48.

gestures, gait, and action, even in the case of persons of the lower ranks, became those of refined and spiritualized people.

"Some remain," says Montgeron, "two or three days with their eyes open, but fixed; the countenance pale; the entire body insensible, and rigid as that of a corpse. The most severe tortures were often applied to their bodies without procuring any evidence of pain. In most cases the ecstasy was not continued, but the sufferers had intermissions. In ordinary cases they generally saw, heard, and understood what was passing around them; but their souls seemed occupied in the contemplation of objects which a higher power displayed to them. This supernatural state exhibits a soul disengaged, aspiring to the highest happiness; in fact, already enjoying it. In the state of convulsion, the patients generally shewed a much higher degree of intelligence and penetration than was natural to them. Girls who were extremely timid, of low birth, and without talent, spoke under the excitement of the disease with eloquence, accuracy, and elegance, on the corruption and fall of man. A young girl, who, in her ordinary state, was so stupid and rude as almost to pass for an idiot, when in convulsions shewed so much penetration, and answered questions so ably, that she might have passed for a person of excellent education, and great natural talents."*

* Montgeron.

The Jansenist convulsionnaires, in their raptures, improvised rapid and oratorical discourses, and the subjects were always in accordance with the views of their sect; they bewailed the impiety of their adversaries, the wickedness of the Bull "Unigenitus," the impugners of the doctrines of grace, as laid down by Jansenius, the perversion of their enemies in the priesthood, the Sorbonne, and in the Court of Rome. The Calvinists, on the other hand, of the Cevennes, extemporized against the Papacy, predicted its downfall, and anathematized the Church of Rome. Both kinds of fanaticism, in their ecstasies, were agreed on the following points: That the end of the world was at hand that Elijah was about to reappear, that the Jews would be restored, and that the millennium would speedily be realized.

"It is certain," observes Calmeil, "that one finds in each phrase of the convulsionnaires, during those improvisations, that boldness of expression, that emphatic language, which constitutes one of the principal characteristics of theomania." La Taste, the orthodox Roman Catholic writer, concerning the convulsionnaires, gives the following extract from the discourse of one of them, speaking of the church during the erethism of her convulsions :—"Elle est couchée dans l'ordure et dans la poussière, les vers lui rongent la chair, la pourriture s'est mise jusque dans ses os, une odeur insupportable s'exhale sans cesse de la corruption,

qui l'enveloppe; venez donc à son secours, appliquez-y le fer et le feu, n'èpargnez rien pour le guérir, coupez, tranchez, brulez; il lui faut les remédes les plus violens."*

This is very characteristic of the kind of solicitude for the interests of religion, and the tenderness of feeling manifested for the sufferings of the church, which are generally found in the pious plaints of fanaticism of all sects in the inspirations of its ecstatic improvisations or outbreaks of sanctimony, unconscious of insanity. The poor convulsionnaire draws a lamentable picture of the condition of the church (which has condemned his sect, let us add *par parenthese*) and then he compassionately calls all who hear him to her succour—*venez donc a son decours* . . . . . n'epargnez rien pour le guerir." Christian charity breathes in the invocation! But, alas! the succour invoked is to kill, and not to cure—fire and sword are called for, to cut and burn the object of all his solicitude. Happy would it be if the inconsequence, the hypocrisy, the angry passions, and the perverted feelings of fanaticism were only to be found in a single sect, and were confined to Jansenists.

"Some of the sick people, we are told, recited the ordinary prayers in a tone of inspiration, and their disordered imaginations often gave to this act of piety, all the appearance of an act of derision and scandal."

* Don La Taste, t. 2. p. 926.

A convulsionnaire recited the *De Profundis*, in French, with a most affecting piety, which was very edifying; but before she commenced, she performed a sort of somersault, and after accomplishing that feat—"*Elle dit hautement* prononce et déclare gravement que ce qu'elle vient de faire est un mystère sérieux qui représente que tout est renversé dans e'Eglise."*

La Taste relates a number of scenes where convulsionnaires, in the act of performing cures, or revealing alleged communications with the spiritual world, or discoursing on the highest mysteries of religion in the presence of persons of both sexes, of ecclesiastics as well as of the laity, acted like mad people, or as if they were possessed by devils; throwing themselves down, rolling on the ground, or bounding from it, and performing pirouettes and a thousand extravagances, "et des attitudes fort malhonnetes."

And every body of common sense, or having any regard or respect for religion, will agree in the justice of La Taste's concluding observation: "Faire des folies, commettre des indécences hors le temps même de la prière, c'est irriter Dieu, c'est l'offenser grièvement, et il sera donc louable de le faire pendant qu'on le prie! . . . Où en sommes nous? Que va devenir la religion!"†

The fact is, not only the means used for effecting cures were evil in themselves, but many of the leading

* Avis aux fidèles.

† La Taste, t. i. p. 110, 111.

persons by whom the remedy of the "Grandes Secours" was administered or superintended were persons of ill repute. *Nemo malum, malo sanat, sed bono malum.*

"The ecstatic convulsionnaires," says Calmeil, "who fancied they heard discourses addressed to them either internally, or sensibly as they imagined, to the outward hearing, for the most part resembled the somnambulists, or persons labouring under hallucinations." Montgeron has remarked, that they were not always compelled to repeat aloud all that they heard from the spirit who addressed them in their visions. "It sometimes happens," he says, "to them that, during the same discourse, they experience successively these three different ways of being instructed in what they should say. They begin, for example, a discourse with the sole object to communicate to the persons present the ideas which take possession of them in a manner which they think supernatural; but after having expressed, during some minutes, these ideas in the best way they were able, in seeking for the terms in their mind, on a sudden the *expressions are dictated to them interiorly* for some time; after which they find themselves once more abandoned to their own genius, and shortly afterwards they are astonished to find that they are speaking without consulting either their will or their intellect, which lasts only generally for a short interval; then from that state they are again, sometimes, restored to themselves, and express, in their

own way, the surplus of ideas which had been given to them."*

"A convulsionnaire of rank," says an author whom I have already cited, "holds a very fine discourse in an unknown tongue; at the same time she is placed in an attitude which I will describe: the body is bent in two, in the form of an arch turned backward, the head and the forehead touching the ground, as if in search of her heels . . . The same person attends at mass from beginning to end with a kind of dignity, and it is always in an unknown tongue she prays; but how is this ceremony gone through? The person is extended on the ground on her back, sometimes so violently agitated that it is necessary that some person should be at her feet to watch and prevent any unbecomingness, and disorder of her clothes."†

Montgeron says, as a proof that they attach a meaning to the words they employ, "it is that, often, they express in the most lively manner all the different sentiments contained in those discourses, not only by gestures, but even by the attitude of the body, and by the countenance, upon which these various sentiments are pourtrayed in turn, in characters the most striking, so much so that one might be enabled to penetrate up to a certain point the sentiments by which they are affected, and which has made it easy for those who

* Montgeron, t. ii. p. 64.

† Avis aux fidèles sur le mélange dans les convulsions, No. 7.

have examined with attention their diverse movements or their varied gestures, to discover that the greater part of these discourses are the detailed predictions of the coming of the prophet Elias, of the torments he will be forced to suffer, as well as all his disciples, of the conversion of the Jews, and in short of the establishment of religion throughout the whole world." *

We are told by La Taste, that "many amongst them used effort to work upon the imagination of the assistants, when they were about to attempt to do something that would make a great noise in the world. The girl Lopin, surnamed the barker, because she always barked, as did also many of her companions, whilst in the hysterical fits, having promised to raise a young infant to life, had it brought with great ceremony, and after having washed the dead body with water drawn from the well of Paris, and having rubbed it with earth taken from the tomb of that deacon, she stretched herself, d'apres l'exemple d'Elie et d'Elisèe, upon the body of the nursling, and there remained, as if glued, till the flesh became putrefied."

A young boarder at Calvaire, becoming subject to convulsions, wishing to perform a miracle upon a sister whom she loved, began by causing blood to flow from her own person by numberless blows on the cranium; after which she went out of her room by crawling, descended head foremost, the feet in

* Montgeron, t. ii. p. 51.

the air, the whole flight of steps that led to the infirmary, dragging herself along on her back, approached towards the sick person in the same manner, whom she apostrophized; at length she finished this scene in making a somersault, and remained for some time staring at the sick person, with the feet raised up whilst the head rested on the ground.*

"The girl Deisson," says Calmeil, "wishing to dispel the state of suffering in which Dubois was, cried out to her whilst drawing near to her: 'What art thou doing there; hast thou confidence in François Paris, my father?' Immediately after she was seen to raise her regards towards heaven, to fold her arms in the form of a cross, and move her lips like a person praying. In a moment after, she extended her arms behind her, bent her body forward, and without kneeling rested her forehead on the ground, at some distance from her feet. It was thus, sometimes in the strongest fits, that the convulsionnaires of Saint Médard exhibited such phenomena. Sometimes they also sung pious hymns, as a prelude to the cure of the paralytic and the deaf. . . .

"Fouillon relates the history of a convulsionnaire, who had herself hung up by the heels with the head down, and remained in that position three-quarters of an hour. One day that she lay extended on her bed, two men who held a cloth behind her back, stretched across the bed, raised her up and threw her forward two thousand four hundred times

* La Taste, 16ieme. Lettre Théologique.

following violently, whilst two other persons placed in front, thrust her back no less violently as often upon the mattrass. Another day, four men having taken hold of her by the extremities, began to pull her, each with all his strength, and held her thus dragged in different directions for the space of some minutes. She caused herself to be tied, one day that she was laying upon a table, the feet and hands behind her back, and whilst six men struck without ceasing her mutilated form, a seventh squeezed together the trachean blood vessels. After this last operation, which lasted about a minute, the convulsionnaire remained without motion, and her tongue inflamed and blueish, hung out of her mouth nearly two fingers in length."*

"It is related," says Calmeil, "in the history of the convulsionnaire Nisette or Denise, that the 9th of March, 1833, at twenty-five minutes past two in the morning, she was struck on the head with a log, then with four logs, and then had the four members pulled in different directions . . . At length, two men stood on her body, then one man stood on her back, two others dragged up her arms, and gave her the *strapado*. They pulled her arms and legs, one person being on her stomach, they suspended her by the feet, then balanced her by the arms and legs, a man being on her back, then they turned her round like a spit, then again dragged her by the four members, two persons also pulling from below the

* Fouillons, Réflexions sur la requête de Nisette.

shoulders. This pulling continued for a long time, *because there were only six persons to pull.* After that, they again gave her the strapado, and the ordinary *sape à la muraille*, then they trod her underfoot fifteen persons at a time."*

Montgeron reckons that four thousand enthusiasts were employed to kick, and to strike without cessation the infirm, and all those young girls who begged for the violence of their blows. "They were not ashamed to maintain," says Calmeil, "that it was to be ignorant of pious and charitable duties, not to obey under these circumstances the desires of the convulsionnaires, whilst the reasonable Jansenists repeated aloud, that it was only a frantic madness which could suggest to these young women to encounter snch dangers, and make an excuse for the criminal barbarity of those who had the audacity to boast of the advantages of so scandalous a mode of mortification, or rather martyrdom, and the wickedness to consent to take on them the office of executioners."

An observer has recounted, that a young girl, named Jeanne Mouler, had insisted upon their administering to her as many as a hundred blows with an andiron, on the stomach, and that *a brother*, who had one day given her sixty, had caused a breach in a wall at the twenty-fifth blow, and then went on repeating the same violence on her person which had been previously inflicted upon her. Montgeron, ac-

* Journal historiques des convulsions, p. 65.

knowledging that he was the person designated "the brother," who inflicted the blows, adds: "The convulsionnaire continued to complain that the blows that I was giving her were so slight that they did not bring her any relief, and she forced me again to put the andiron into the hands of a large strong man . . . This person in no way spared her. Having seen, by the proof that I had already given, that he could not administer too violent blows, he bastinadoed her in so frightful a manner, always in the hollow of the stomach, that they shook the wall against which she was leaning.

"The convulsionnaire made them immediately give her, with all their force, the hundred lashes that she had already asked for, counting, as nothing, those sixty which I had already given her. I again took the andiron, being anxious to try against a wall whether the blows she considered so light, would produce any effect: at the twenty-fifth blow the stone that I was hitting, and which had been shaken by the preceding blows, was completely broken: all that held it together, fell from the other side of the wall, and made an opening of above half a foot wide."* . . .

"A physician, hearing an account of these things, maintained that they could not be true, as according to him it was physically impossible. He objected, amongst other things, that the flexibility and the softness of the skin and flesh, and all the other

* Montgeron, t. 2. p. 44.

fibrous parts of which the skin and the flesh are essentially composed, are incompatible with a force and resistance so extraordinary. . . They allowed him to make an anatomical demonstration, to set forth all his proofs, and in the end, for reply, they said to him . . . Come and verify the facts . . He hastened to do so, and at the first sight he was struck with astonishment. Scarcely believing his eyes, he begs to administer himself the *secours* . . . They immediately put into his hands the iron instruments, the strongest and the fittest to beat effectually; he spared nothing, he struck with the greatest violence, he thrust into the flesh the instrument with which he was armed, he made it penetrate far beyond the surface. . . . Notwithstanding which, the convulsionnaire laughed at all his vain efforts; all the blows which he gave her only served to do her good, without leaving the slightest impression, the least trace, or any vestige whatever, not only in the flesh, but even on the skin itself."*

"It was frequently," observes La Taste, "said to the partizans of Paris, in order to make them understand that the convulsionnaires had ceased to possess their senses: When did God ever employ, in a miraculous manner, the voice or the hand of a person physically convulsed, and mentally disturbed? When did he make people fools in order to manifest through them his power and his will? Which was the Apostle . . . who, at the time that

* Montgeron, t. 2. p. 47.

he was healing the sick . . . had the mind agitated and the reason wandering? Which the inspired man . . . who made predictions, or performed wonders in the frenzy and alienation of his mind? *O temps! O mœurs! les philosophes* poiens auraient donné à votre confiancee le nom de fureur, de délire, de desespoir."*

"What! ecclesiastics, and priests," La Taste continues, "in the midst of large assemblies, composed of persons of both sexes and of all ranks, putting aside their soutans, and taking off their outer garments to enable them the better to perform the functions of executioners, throw young women down on the ground, then drag them along for some time with their face on the earth, and discharge upon them so many blows that they are reduced to such a state of exhaustion that they had to be carried away after throwing water on their heads! What! men who pride themselves on having sentiments of religion and of humanity, giving with main strength, between thirty and forty thousand blows with heavy logs on the legs, the arms, and the head of several women, and performing many other extravagant actions, and acts of violence, enough to break their sculls. What! ladies of sense, of rank and of piety, learned doctors, civil and canonical, laymen of character, even clergymen, keeping silence at the sight of such a spectacle of fanaticism and of horror, and not opposing themselves with all their energies,

* La Taste, p. 348.

but seeming to approve of it by their presence, and perhaps even by their countenance and their discourse! History does not furnish us with any example of excesses of this kind, which have been so scandalous and so numerous."*

The mania of the convulsionnaire broke out at Saint Médard, in the spring of 1731. The royal ordonnance, which caused the cemetery of Saint Médard to be closed and the pretended miracles to cease, was issued in January, 1732.

From that time the delirium of theomania began to manifest itself more signally than it had hitherto done, by ecstatic phenomena, and cataleptic symptoms, by predictions, and pretensions to miraculous operations, in the same way as the Calvinist convulsionnaires progressed in their fanaticism in the Cévennes, when they were interfered with by the civil authorities; and many of their chiefs were imprisoned, as those of the Jansenists of Saint Médard were immured in the Bastile, and the Bicétre. The plea or the pretext of persecution, and the consequent assemblage of the convulsionnaires of Paris in secret, concurred greatly and rapidly to augment the evils which it was intended to prevent by those governmental measures. And those evils were not effectually repressed during the following ten years. Nor were they totally then put a stop to. It was of no avail that, in the year 1762, the "Grands Secours" was forbidden by act of parliament.

* La Taste, t. 2. p. 878.

"The insanity of the convulsionnaires," says Hecker, "lasted without interruption until the year 1790; and during these fifty-nine years called forth more lamentable phenomena than the enlightened spirits of the eighteenth century would be willing to allow."*

"The energetic resistance," says Calmeil, "which was opposed by the convulsionnaires of Saint Médard, of the skin, the cellular tissue, the surface of the body and the members, to the shocks of the blows, is certainly calculated to cause some astonishment. But many of these fanatics deceived themselves greatly in imagining themselves to be invulnerable, for there has been above twenty times undeniable proof given that many amongst them shewed, after the cruel infliction of blows which they solicited, large patches of discolouration under the skin, and innumerable contusions on the surface which had borne the most severe assaults."†

The following just observations on an analogous mania and on the disease of the convulsionnaires has been made by one of the most eminent physicians of our time, and one whose reputation in medical science is European, Dr. W. Stokes, in an elaborate article treating of "Epidemic Insanity."‡

"We see a peculiar state of the nervous system

* Hecker. The dancing mania, p. 149.

† Calmeil, vol. ii. p. 386.

‡ Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, vol. i. p. 469. Dublin, 1846.

evidenced by certain groups of symptoms to arise epidemically, and to spread as if by contagion; so that vast numbers of persons became affected by it. . . . . That it was a nervous or neuratic malady is obvious, and if it cannot be brought accurately under the heads of convulsion, catalepsy, or mania, we must only lament that our nosologists make distinctions which are set aside by nature. We may yet get a good idea of it by studying cases of hysteric mania in the present day; and then if we look back and consider the ruling ideas of the period, the social condition of the sufferers, and the state of religious opinion, we can have little difficulty in bringing this great outbreak of nervous disease strongly before us.

"In considering these sad histories, we cannot help reflecting on the curious circumstance, that every one of the strange and anomalous phenomena of the hysteric state were produced on a great scale. We see the propagation of the disease by sympathy; the combination of the voluntary and involuntary in the acts of the sufferers; the tendency to deceive for the purpose of exciting that sympathy; and, lastly, the production of the mesmeric or magnetic phenomena as a common occurrence."

But though the tendency to deceive is seldom absent in disorders of this kind in every form of theomania, in fact, which manifests itself, and in this particular disease of the *convulsionnaires* of Paris no doubt existed, it cannot be denied that phenomena

were observed in the latter epidemic, and well authenticated accounts of them have been recorded, which owe no part of their marvellousness to deception—phenomena which are wholly inexplicable, and which have never been observed since that period, or at least recorded.

According to Calmeil, there was an explanation to be found of the immunity of life and limb, attending those terrible inflictions of blows with heavy clubs, and bars of wood and iron, on the bodies of the convulsionnaires, in the state of violent spasm in which those parts were that were beaten. He attributes that immunity to the rigid state of the muscles, the powerful contraction of all their fibres, the turgescence of all the tissues which cover and protect the abdomen and thorax, the principal vascular trunk, and surfaces of bone in the vicinity of those parts.

This state of constriction and distension served, as he considers, to annul the violence of the blows: and, moreover, the voluminous size of the instruments used for striking on rounded surfaces, with circumferences of a cylindrical shape, tended to weaken the impetus of the blows, and thus diminished the danger arising from them considerably, in comparison with the injury to those parts, which would have arisen from the employment of supple and flexible instruments, such as whips and scourges.

Whether this explanation on medical principles is

entirely satisfactory, or sufficient to account for the many marvellous escapes from deadly injury to vital organs which in other circumstances must necessarily have ensued, is a question which is surrounded with more difficulties than I feel myself competent to solve. In many of the recorded cases of the *Secours* the explanation no doubt would be satisfactory, but there are other instances, if the testimony of Montgeron, and the statements of La Taste can be relied on, in which that explanation would certainly be insufficient to account for the results that are recorded.

"Let not men, therefore," says Locke,* "that would have a sight of what every one pretends to be desirous to have a sight of, truth, in its full extent, narrow and blind their own prospect. Let not men think there is no truth but in the science that they study, or books that they read. To prejudge other men's notions before we have looked into them is not to shew their darkness, but to put out our own eyes. 'Try all things, hold fast that which is good,' is a divine rule coming from the Father of light and truth, and it is hard to know what other way men can come at truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and search for it as for gold and hid treasure: but he that does so must have much earth and rubbish before he gets the pure metal: sand and pebbles, and dross, usually he blends with it, but the gold is nevertheless gold, and will enrich

* Conduct of the Understand. p. 328.

the man that employs his pains to seek out and separate it. Neither is there any danger he should be deceived by the mixture."

The moral of the extensive subject of "Illusions and Fanaticisms," if briefly stated, might perhaps be expressed in a few lines, more poetical indeed, but not more truthful than the following:

Fanatic zeal lies hid in the heart's core
Of every human being, rich or poor,
Prompt to ignite, when sects and factions, rife
With passion, scatter round them, brands of strife.
But slow to kindle, when Religion's power
Confronts the current mania of the hour,
Controls its phrenzy, and subdues the pride
Of reason—only to exalt and guide.

THE END.

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